

## George Washington Papers, Series 2, Letterbooks 1754-1799

### To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

New York, June 24 [25], 1775.24

Gentlemen: The Rain on Friday Afternoon and Saturday the Advice of several Gentlemen of the Jerseys' and this City, by no Means to cross Hudsons River at the lower Ferry and some other Occurrences too trivial to mention (which happened on the Road) prevented my arrival at this place until the Afternoon of this day. In the morning, after giving General Schuyler such Orders, as, from the result of my Inquiry into matters here, appear necessary, I shall set out on my Journey to the Camp at Boston and shall proceed with all the dispatch in my Power.

Powder is so essential an Article that I cannot help again repeating the necessity of a supply. The Camp at Boston, from the best Accounts I can get from thence, is but very poorly supplied. At this place they have scarce any. how they are provided in General Wooster's Camp I have not been able yet to learn.<sup>25</sup>

Governor Tryon is arrived and General Schuyler directed to advise you of the line of Conduct he moves in. I fear it will not be very favourable to the American Cause. I have only to add that I am with the greatest respect and regard, etc.

24. Mifflin, who drafted this letter for Washington's signature, was evidently in error as to his date; the mistake was continued, apparently, until the General reached Cambridge, Mass. (See Washington's letter to the President of Congress, July 10, 1775, *post.*)

Washington left Philadelphia for Cambridge on June 23, accompanied by Lee; Schuyler; Joseph Reed, his military secretary; Thomas Mifflin, his aide-de-camp; and Samuel Griffin,

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aide to Lee. The Commander in Chief's route was by way of Trenton, New Brunswick, Newark, Hoboken, N.J.; New York City, Kings Bridge, New Rochelle, N.Y.; New Haven, Hartford, Wethersfield, Conn.; Springfield, Worcester, and Watertown, Mass. There was a review of the Philadelphia militia before Washington left that city. The arrival at New York City was complicated by the arrival the same day of the royal governor, William Tryon. The Tory element in New York City was strong, and there was apprehension of some awkwardness, if not actual difficulty. The two arrivals did not, however, conflict in point of time. Washington was given a public dinner at Leonard Lispenard's.

25. Gen. David Wooster commanded the forces which had been raised by Connecticut, and which were stationed on the shores of Long Island Sound to protect the southern borders of that colony. On June 15 a rumor having been spread that a regiment of British troops was soon to be landed in the city of New York from Ireland, the provincial congress invited General Wooster to march within 5 miles of the city for its defense, and while there to be under the command of the Continental Congress, or that of New York. This request being approved by the government of Connecticut, General Wooster marched 1,800 men to the neighborhood of the city on June 28, where he remained several weeks.— *Ford*.

### **To MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER**

New York, June 25, 1775.

Sir: You are to take upon you the Command of all the Troops destined for the New York Department, and see that the Orders of the Continental Congress are carried into Execution, with as much Precision and Exactness as possible. For your better Government therein you are herewith furnished with a Copy of the Instructions given to me by that Hon'e Body. Such Parts thereof as are within the Line of your Duty, you will please to pay particular Attention to. Delay no Time in occupying the several Posts, recommended by the Provincial Congress of this Colony, and putting them in a fit Posture, to answer the End designed: neither delay any Time in securing the Stores, which are or

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ought to have been removed from this City by Order of the Continental Congress. Keep a watchful Eye upon Governor Tryon,<sup>26</sup> and if you find him directly or indirectly, attempting any Measures inimical to the common Cause, use every Means in your Power to frustrate his Designs. It is not in my Power, at this Time, to point out the Mode by which this End is to be accomplished; but if forcible Measures are judged necessary, (respecting the Person of the Governor) I should have no Difficulty in ordering of it, if the Continental Congress was not sitting; but as this is the Case, the seizing of a Governor quite a new Thing and of exceeding great Importance, I must

26. Sparks notes from Almon's *Remembrancer* (vol. I, p. 180) that Tryon had been Governor of New York since August, 1771, and recently absent for several months in England. He was known to be extremely hostile to the movements in the Colonies; and, possessing much talent and address, it was feared his influence would have a pernicious effect on the inhabitants of New York, who already manifested a lukewarmness and hesitancy by no means encouraging to the ardent champions of liberty. Hence the necessity of keeping an eye on his motions, and guarding against any schemes he might adopt to promote his aims. The mayor, aldermen, and commonalty of the city congratulated him in a public address, to which he replied; but there was no intercourse between him and the provincial congress.

refer you to that Body for Direction, in Case His Excellency the Governor should make any Move towards increasing the Strength of the Tory Party, or in arming them against the Cause we are embarked in. In like Manner watch the Movements of the Indian Agent (Col. Guy Johnston) and prevent, as far as you can, the Effect of his Influence to our Prejudice with the Indians. Obtain the best Information you can of the Temper and Disposition of those People, and also of the Canadians, that a proper Line may be mark'd out to conciliate their good Opinion, or facilitate any future Operation.

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The Posts on Lake Champlain, &c., you will please to have properly supplied with Provisions and Ammunition, and this I am persuaded you will aim at doing, on the best Terms, to prevent our good Cause from sinking under a heavy Load of Expence.

You will be pleased also to make regular Returns to me, once a Month and to the Continental Congress, and oftener as Occurrences may require, of the Forces under your Command, of your Provisions Stores &c. and give me the earliest Advices of every Piece of Intelligence; which you shall judge of Importance to be speedily known. Your own good Sense must govern in all Matters not particularly pointed out, as I do not wish to circumscribe you within narrow Limits. I remain with great Regard, etc.

### **To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

Camp at Cambridge, July 10, 1775.

Sir: I arrived safely at this place on the 3d instant;—after a Journey attended with a good deal of Fatigue and retarded by necessary attentions to the successive Civilities which accompanied me in my whole route. Upon my arrival I immediately visited the several Posts occupied by our Troops, and as soon as the Weather permitted, reconnoitred those of the Enemy. I found the latter strongly entrenching on Bunkers Hill about a mile from Charlestown, and advanced about half a mile from the place of the last Action, with their Centries advanced about 150 Yards on this side the narrowest part of the neck leading from this place to Charles Town. Their floating Batteries lay in Mystick River, near their Camp, and a twenty Gun Ship below the Ferry place between Boston and Charles Town. They have also a Battery on Copse Hill, on the Boston side, which much annoyed our Troops in the late Attack. Upon Roxbury Neck they are also deeply entrenched and strongly fortified. Their advanced Guard 'till last Saturday, occupied Brown's Houses, about a Mile from Roxbury Meeting House and twenty rods from their Lines: But at that time a party from General Thomas's Camp surprized the Guard, drove them in and burnt the Houses.<sup>63</sup>

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The Bulk of their Army commanded by General Howe, lays on Bunker's Hill, and the remainder on Roxbury neck, except the light Horse, and a few Men in the Town of Boston. On our side we have thrown up Intrenchments on Winter and Prospect Hills,<sup>64</sup> the Enemy's Camp in full view, at the distance of little more than a mile. Such intermediate points, as would admit a Landing, I have since my arrival taken care to strengthen down to Sewall's Farms where a strong

62. Despite this statement, all other documentary evidence shows that Washington reached Cambridge, Mass., July 2 and took command of the Army on July 3.

63. The house and barn of Mr. Brown stood on the west side of the highway [Washington Street] near the present location of Franklin Square. On July 8 a party of volunteers from the Rhode Island and Massachusetts forces, under the command of Majors Tupper and Crane, attacked the post and drove in the guard and set fire to the buildings, but two attempts appear to have been necessary to accomplish this. (See Joseph Trumbull's letter to Eliphalet Dyer, July 11, 1775.) "This was the only armed conflict between the opposing armies which took place within the original limits of Boston." (See *Centennial Anniversary Evacuation of Boston*, p. 12.)

64. The original line of American fortification crossed what is now Washington Street, on the line of division between Boston and Roxbury, near the present Clifton Place.— *Ford*.

Intrenchment has been thrown up. At Roxbury General Thomas has thrown up a Strong Work on the Hill, about two hundred Yards above the Meeting House, which with the Brokenness of the Ground and Rocks, have made the Pass very secure. The Troops raised in New Hampshire with a Regiment from Rhode Island occupy Winter Hill. A Part of those from Connecticut under General Putnam are on Prospect Hill. The Troops in this Town are entirely of the Massachusetts: The remainder of the Rhode Island Men, at Sewalls Farm. Two Regiments of Connecticut and nine of the Massachusetts are at Roxbury. The residue of the Army, to the Number of about seven hundred, are posted in

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several small Towns along the Coasts, to prevent the depredations of the Enemy: Upon the whole I think myself authorized to say, that considering the great extent of Line and the nature of the Ground, we are as well secured, as could be expected in so short a time and under the disadvantages we labour. These consist in a Want of Engineers to construct proper Works and direct the Men; a Want of Tools and a sufficient Number of Men to man the Works in case of an Attack. You will observe by the Proceedings of the Council of War, which I have the Honor to enclose, that it is our unanimous Opinion to hold and defend these Works, as long as possible. The Discouragement it would give the Men and its contrary Effect on the Ministerial Troops thus to abandon our Incampment in their Face, formed with so much Labour and expence; added to the certain Destruction of a considerable and valuable extent of Country, and the uncertainty of finding a place in all respects so capable of making a stand are leading reasons for this Determination. At the same time we are very sensible of the Difficulties which attend the Defence of Lines of so great extent, and the Dangers which may ensue from such a Division of the Army.

My earnest Wishes to comply with the Instructions of the Congress in making an early and complete return of the State of the Army, has led into an involuntary delay of addressing you, which has given me much concern. Having given Orders for that purpose immediately upon my arrival, and not then so well apprized of the imperfect Obedience which had been paid to those of like nature from General Ward, I was led from day to day to expect they would come and therefore detained the messenger. They are not so complete as I could wish, but much allowance is to be made for inexperience in Forms and Liberties which had been taken (not given) on this subject. These reasons I flatter myself will no longer exist and of consequence more regularity and exactness in future prevail. This, with a necessary attention to the Lines, the movements of the Ministerial Troops and our immediate security, must be my apology, which I beg you to lay before the Congress, with the utmost duty and respect.

We labour under great Disadvantages for want of Tents, for tho' they have been help'd by a collection of Sails from the Seaport Towns, the Number is yet far short of our

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Necessities. The Colleges and Houses of this Town are necessarily occupied by the Troops, which affords another reason for keeping our present Station: But I most sincerely wish the whole Army was properly provided to take the Field, as I am well assured, that besides greater Expedition and activity in case of alarm, it would highly conduce to health and discipline. As materials are not to be had here, I would beg leave to recommend the procuring a farther supply from Philadelphia, as soon as possible.<sup>65</sup>

65. On July 19, the day this letter was read in Congress, Mr. James Wilson was ordered to secure a report on the quantity of duck, tow cloth, sheeting, etc., procurable in Philadelphia.

I should be extremely deficient in Gratitude as well as Justice, if I did not take the first Opportunity to acknowledge the Readiness and attention which the Congress and different committees have shewn, to make everything as convenient and agreeable as possible. But there is a vital and inherent Principle of delay incompatible with Military service in transacting Business, through such various and different channels. I esteem it my Duty therefore to represent the Inconvenience that must unavoidably ensue from a dependence on a number of Persons for supplies, and submit it to the consideration of the Congress, whether the public service will not be best promoted by appointing a Commissary General for these purposes:

We have a very remarkable instance of the preference of such a mode in the Establishment of Connecticut, as their Troops are extremely well provided under the direction of Mr. Trumbull, and he has at different Times assisted others with various Articles; should my sentiments happily coincide with those of the Congress, I beg leave to recommend Colonel Trumbull as a very proper person for this department.<sup>66</sup> In the Arrangement of Troops collected under such circumstances, and upon the Spur of immediate necessity, several appointments have been omitted, which appear to me indispensably necessary for the good Government of the Army, particularly a Quarter Master General, A Commissary of Musters and a Commissary of Artillery. These I must

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particularly recommend to the Notice & Provision of the Honorable Congress.<sup>67</sup> I find myself already much embarrassed for want of a Military Chest; these embarrassments will encrease every day, I must therefore most earnestly request that money may be forwarded to me as soon as possible. The want of this most necessary Article, will I fear, produce great Inconveniences if not prevented by an early attention.

66. Col. Joseph Trumbull was accordingly appointed Commissary General of the Continental Army on July 19, the day this letter was read in Congress.

67. Congress left these appointments to Washington to make. They will be found announced in the General Orders, *post*.

I find the Army in general and particularly the Troops raised in Massachusetts Bay very difficient in necessary Clothing: Upon Inquiry it appears there is no Probability of Obtaining any supplies in this Quarter; upon the best consideration of this matter, I am able to form, I am of Opinion that a number of hunting Shirts, not less than 10,000, would in a great Degree remove the difficulty in the cheapest and quickest manner. I know nothing so trivial in a speculative View, that in Practice would have a happy Tendency to unite the men and abolish those Provincial distinctions which lead to Jealousy and Dissatisfaction. In a former part of my Letter I mentioned the want of Engineers. I can hardly express the Disappointment I have experienced on this Subject; the Skill of those we have being very imperfect and confined to the mere manual exercise of cannon, whereas the war in which we are engaged, requires a Knowledge comprehending the Duties of the Field and Fortifications. If any Persons possessed of these Qualifications are to be found in the Southern Colonies, it would be of great Public Service to forward them with all expedition. Upon the Article of Ammunition, I must re-echo the former complaints on this Subject; we are so exceedingly destitute that our Artillery will be of little use without a supply both large and seasonable; what we have, must be reserved for the small Arms and that managed with the utmost Frugality. I am very sorry to observe that the appointments of General



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Officers in the Provinces of Massachusetts and Connecticut have not corresponded with the wishes and Judgment of either the Civil or Military. The great Dissatisfaction

expressed on this Subject and the apparent Danger of throwing the whole Army into the utmost Disorder, together with the strong Representations made by the Provincial Congress, have induced me to retain the Commissions in my hands until the pleasure of the Continental Congress should be farther known, except General Putnam's which was given the Day I came to the Camp and before I was apprized of these disgusts. In such a Step, I must beg the Congress will do me the Justice to believe that I have been actuated solely by a regard to the Public Good.

I have not, nor could have any private Attachments, every Gentleman in Appointment was a Stranger to me but from Character: I must therefore rely upon the candour and Indulgence of Congress; for their most favourable construction of my Conduct in this particular. General Spencer's disgust was so great at General Putnam's promotion, that he left the Army without visiting me or making known his Intention in any respect.<sup>68</sup>

General Pomeroy had also retired before my Arrival, occasioned as is said by some Disappointment from the Provincial Congress. General Thomas is much esteemed and most earnestly desired to continue in the service, and as far as my Opportunities have enabled me to judge, I must join in the general Opinion, that he is an able good officer and his Resignation would be a public Loss. The postponing him to Pomroy and Heath, whom he has commanded, would make his continuance very difficult and probably operate on his mind, as the like circumstance did on that of Spencer.

The State of the Army you will find ascertained, with tolerable Precision, in the Returns which accompany this

68. Ford notes the letter from Samuel B. Webb to Silas Deane, printed in the *Connecticut Historical Society Collections*, vol. 2, pp. 285, 288, 290, as throwing some light on Spencer's conduct. At the bottom of the whole difficulty lay the matter of Maj.

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Gen. Artemas Ward's supreme command of all the troops besieging Boston before Washington's election and arrival.

Letter. Upon finding the Number of Men to fall so far short of the Establishment arid below all Expectation, I immediately called a Council of the General Officers, whose opinion as to the mode of filling up the regiments and providing for the present Exigency, together with the best Judgment we are able to form of the Ministerial Troops, I have the Honor of inclosing. From the Number of Boys, Deserters and negroes which have inlisted in this Province, I entertain some doubts whether the Number required, can be raised here; and all the General Officers agree, that no Dependance can be put on the Militia for a continuance in Camp, or Regularity and Discipline during the short time they may stay. This unhappy and devoted Province has been so long in a State of Anarchy, and the Yoke of Ministerial Oppression so heavily laid, that great allowances are to be made for their Troops collected under such circumstances; The Defficiencies in their numbers, their Discipline and Stores can only lead to this conclusion, that their Spirit has exceeded their Strength. But at the same time I would humbly submit to the Congress, the Propriety of making some further Provision of men from the other Colonies. If these Regiments should be completed to their Establishment, the dismissal of those who are unfit for Duty, on account of their Age and Character, would occasion a considerable Reduction, and at all events, they have been inlisted upon such Terms, that they may be dismissed when other Troops arrive: But should my apprehens'ons be realized, and the Regiments here not be filled

up, the public Cause would suffer by an absolute Dependance upon so doubtful an Event, unless some Provision is made against such a Disappointment. It requires no Military Skill to judge of the Difficulty of introducing Discipline and Subordination into an Army while we have the Enemy in View and are in daily expectation of an attack, but it is of so much Importance, that every Effort will be made to this End, which Time and circumstances will admit. In the mean Time I have the Pleasure of observing, that there are Materials for a

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good Army, a great Number of Men, able Bodied, Active, Zealous in the Cause and of unquestionable Courage.

I am now Sir, to acknowledge the receipt of your Favor of the 28th June, enclosing the Resolutions of Congress of the 27th and a Copy of a Letter from the Committee of Albany, to all which I shall pay due Attention. General Gates and General Sullivan have both arrived in good Health.

My best Abilities are at all Times devoted to the Service of my Country, but I feel the Weight, variety and Importance of my present Duties too sensibly, not to wish a more immediate and frequent communication with the Congress. I fear it may often happen, in the Course of our present Operations, that I shall need the Assistance and Direction from them which Time and Distance will not allow me to receive. Since writing the above, I have to acknowledge your Favor of the 4th instant by Fessenden, and the receipt of the Commission and Articles of War. Among the other returns I have also sent one of our killed, wounded and missing in the late Action, but have been able to procure

no certain Account of the Loss of the Ministerial Troops, my best Intelligence fixes it at 500 killed and 700 wounded; but it is no more than Conjecture the utmost pains being taken, to conceal their Loss.<sup>69</sup>

Having ordered the Commanding Officer at Roxbury to give me the earliest Intelligence of every Motion of the Enemy, by Land or Water, discoverable from the Heights of his Camp, I this instant, as I was closing my Letter received the enclosed from his Brigade Major. The Design of this Motion I know not; it may be to make a Diversion somewhere along the Coast; it may be for New York, or it may be practised as a Deception on Us. I thought it not improper however to mention the Matter to you: I have done the same to the Commanding Officer at New York, and I shall let it be known by the Committee of Safety here, that the Intelligence may be communicated, as they see best, to the Sea Coast of this Government. I have the Honor, etc.<sup>70</sup>

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69. Sparks notes, from Almon's *Remembrancer* (vol. 1, pp. 99, 179), that at Bunker Hill, on June 17, according to a return published by the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, the loss was 145 killed and missing and 304 wounded. About 30 of the first number were wounded and taken prisoners. By General Gage's official return, the killed and missing of the British were 226 and the wounded 828, in all 1,054. (See Washington's letter to the President of Congress, July 14, 1775, *post.*)

70. The original L. S., in the writing of Joseph Reed, is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

### To MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER

Cambridge, July 10, 1775.

Sir: I received your Favour of the 1st Inst. by Express from New York; but as I am exceedingly hurried in making out my Dispatches for the Honble. Congress at Philadelphia, it is not in my Power to answer it in so full a Manner as I wish.

Notwithstanding Governor Tryon's plausible Behaviour, I recommend it to you to watch him narrowly, and as any unlucky Change of Affairs on our Part, may produce a Change in him, of his *present unexceptionable Conduct*, I expect you will, on the first Appearance of such a Change, pursue the Advice given in my last Letter. The like Advice I give you respecting General Haldiman, who is supposed by some to have gone to New York, with a Design to counteract us in that Province. The Commissions which have been forwarded to me are not sufficient to answer the Demand I have for them, there being at least 1000 Officers in this Department and not more than 500 Commissions in my Possession. As you are so much nearer to Philadelphia than I am, I request you to apply to Congress for as many as you are like to want. The dispersing Hand Bills amongst the Troops in New York has my most hearty Approbation, and may have a good Effect here. Our Enemies have

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attempted nothing against us since my Arrival here. They are strongly posted on Bunker's Hill, and are still busy in throwing up additional Works. We have thrown up several

Lines and Redoubts between Mystick River and Dorchester Point, to prevent their making Way into the Country, and in a few Days shall be well prepared to receive them, in Case a Sortie is attempted.

I sincerely thank you for your Attention to the Directions of the Congress, and for your kind Wishes, and am with much Regards, Sir; etc.

P.S. I herewith inclose a Report this Minute received from the Camp at Dorchester. The Design of this Manoeuvre I am at a Loss to know, but suppose it maybe intended as a Diversion to our Forces here. It, however, behooves you to keep a good Lookout, to prevent any Surprise your Way.<sup>73</sup>

### **To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

Camp at Cambridge, July 14, 1775.

Since I did myself the Honor of Addressing you the 10th instant, nothing material has happened in the Camp.

From some late and Authentick Advices of the State of the Ministerial Troops and the great Inconvenience of calling in the Militia at this Season, I have been induced for the present to waive it; but in the mean Time recruiting Parties have been sent out through this Province, to fill the Regiments to the Establishment of the Provincial Congress. At the same Time that I received the above Advices I also obtained a List of the Officers of the Enemy who were killed and wounded at the Battle of Charles Town, which I take this Oppertunity to inclose.<sup>81</sup> The great Scarcecity of Fresh Provision in their Army, has led me to take every

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73. The "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers* is in the writing of Joseph Reed; the draft, in the archives of the New York Historical Society, is also by Reed; but the postscript is in the writing of Washington.

81. This return, in the writing of Horatio Gates, is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*. In the *Washington Papers* is an account, in the writing of Washington, of the British loss as given by John Machin, a deserter from the Welsh Fusileers.

precaution to prevent a Supply: For this purpose I have ordered all the Cattle and Sheep to be drove from the Low Grounds and Farms within their, Reach. A Detachment from General Thomas's Camp on Wednesday Night, went over to Long Island and brought from thence 20 Cattle and a Number of Sheep, with about 15 Labourers who had been put on by a Mr. Ray Thomas, in order to cut Hay &ca By some Accident, they omitted burning the Hay and returned the next day to complete it, which they effected amidst the firing of the Shipping with the Loss of one man killed and another Wounded. Last Evening also a Party of the Connecticut Men stroll'd down upon the Marsh at Roxbury and fired upon a Centry, which drew on a heavy fire from the Enemy's Lines and Floating Battery, but attended with no other Effect than the Loss of one Man killed by a Shot from the Enemy's Lines. In the mean Time, we are on both sides continuing our Works, but there has been no Movement, other than what I have above noticed. I shall endeavour to give a regular and particular Account of all our Proceedings as they occur, which you will please to lay before the Congress. I have the Honor to be, &ca.

### **To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Cambridge, July 18, 1775.

Sir: It is with no small concern, that I find the Arrangement of General Officers made by the Honble. Continental Congress, has produced much Dissatisfaction; as the Army is upon a General Establishment, their Right, to Supercede and Controul a Provincial one, must be

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unquestionable; and, in such a Cause, I should hope every Post would be deemed Honorable, which gave a Man Opportunity to serve his Country.

A Representation from the Congress of this Province, with such Remarks as occurred to me on this Subject, is now before the Continental Congress; In the mean Time, I beg leave to assure you that unbiassed by any private Attachments, I shall Studiously endeavour to reconcile their Pretensions to their Duty, and so dispose them, as to prevent, as far as possible, any Inconveniencies to the Public Service from this Competition. I have the honor, &c.

### **To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

Camp at Cambridge, July 20, 1775.

Sir: Since I did myself the Honor of Addressing you the 14th instant I have received Advice from Governor Trumbull, that the Assembly of that Colony had voted and that they are now raising Two Regiments of 700 men each, to join this Army, in consequence of an Application from the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts Bay. The Rhode Island Assembly has also made an Augmentation for this purpose; these Reinforcements with the Rifle men who are daily expected and such recruits as may come in, to fill up the Regiments here, will I apprehend, compose an Army sufficiently strong to oppose any Force which can be brought against us at present. I am very sensible that the heavy expence necessarily attendant upon the Campaign will call for the utmost Frugality and care, and would therefore, if possible, avoid inlisting one unnecessary man. As this is the first certain Account of the destination of these new raised Troops, I thought proper to communicate my Sentiments as early as possible, least the Congress should Act upon my Letter of the 10th and raise Troops in the Southern Colonies, which in my present Judgment may be dispens'd with.

In these 8 days past there have been no Movements in either Camp of any consequence: On our side we have continued the Works without any Intermission, and they are now so

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far advanced as to leave us little to apprehend on that Score. On the side of the Enemy, they have also been very industrious in finishing their Lines both on Bunker's Hill and

Roxbury Neck. In this interval also their Transports have arrived from New York and they have been employed in landing and Stationing their Men. I have been able to collect no certain Account of the Numbers arrived, but the inclosed Letter, wrote th'o not signed by Mr. Sheriff Lee<sup>88</sup> and delivered me by Captain Darby,<sup>89</sup> who went express with an Account of the Lexington Battle, will enable us to form a pretty accurate Judgment. The increase of Tents and Men in the Town of Boston is very obvious, but all my Accounts from thence agree, that there is a great Mortality, occasioned by the Want of Vegetables and fresh meat; and their Loss in the late Battle at Charles Town (from the few recoveries of their Wounded) is greater than first sup posed. The State of the Inhabitants detained in Boston is very distressing, they are equally destitute of the comfort of fresh Provisions and many are so reduced in their circumstances, as to be unable to supply themselves with Salt: Such Fish as the Soldiery leave, is their principal support. Added to all this, such Jealousy and Suspicion prevails that they can scarcely speak or even look, without exposing themselves to some Species of Military Execution.

I have not been able from any Intelligence I have received, to form any certain Judgment of the future Operations of the Enemy. Some Times I have suspected an Intention of detaching part of their Army to some part of the Coast, as they have been building a number of Flat Bottomed Boats capable of holding 200 Men each. But from their Works and the Language held at Boston there is reason to think they expect an attack from us and are principally engaged in preparing against it. I have

88. Usually referred to as Alderman William Lee, a brother of Arthur Lee, and a member of the London Board of Aldermen. He furnished secret information from London, which was of value to the Colonies.



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89. Capt. John Derby, of Salem, Mass. By order of the Massachusetts Legislature, he carried the news of the fight at Lexington to England, where he was examined by the privy council.

ordered all the Whale Boats for many miles along the Coast to be collected and some of them are employed every Night to watch the motion of the Enemy by water, in order to guard as much as possible against any surprize.

Upon my Arrival and since, some Complaints have been preferr'd against Officers for Cowardice in the late Action on Bunkers Hill; tho' there were several strong Circumstances and a very general opinion against them, none have been condemn'd except a Captain Callender of the Artillery who was immediately cashier'd. I have been sorry to find it an uncontradicted Truth, that the principal failure of Duty that day, was in the Officers, tho' many of them distinguished them selves by their gallant Behaviour, but the Soldiers generally shew'd great Spirit and Resolution.

Next to the more immediate and pressing Duties of putting our Lines in as secure a State as possible, attending to the Movements of the Enemy, and gaining Intelligence; my great concern is to establish Order, Regularity & Discipline, without which our Numbers would embarass us and in case of an Action, general confusion must infallibly ensue.

In order to this I propose to divide the Army into three Divisions, at the Head of each will be a General Officer, these Divisions to be again subdivided into Brigades, under their respective Brigadiers; but the difficulty arising from the Arrangement of General Officers and waiting the further Proceedings of the Congress on this Subject has much retarded my progress in this most necessary Work. I should be very happy to receive their final Commands, as any Determination would enable me to proceed in my Plan. General Spencer returned to the Camp two days ago and

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has agreed to serve under Putnam, rather than leave the Army entirely. I have heard nothing from General Pomroy; should he wholly retire I apprehend it will be necessary to supply his place as soon as possible. General Folsom proposed also to retire.

In addition to the Officers mentioned in mine of the 10th instant, I would humbly propose that some Provision should be made for a Judge Advocate and Provoost Marshall; the Necessity of the first Appointment was so great, that I was Obligated to nominate a Mr. Tudor who was well recommended to me and now executes the Office under an Expectation of receiving Captains Pay. An allowance in my Opinion scarcely adequate to the Services in New raised Troops, where there are Courts Martial every Day. However as that is the proportion in the regular Army and he is contented, there will be no necessity of an Addition.

I must also renew my request as to Money, and the Appointment of a Pay Master, I have forbore urging Matters of this Nature, from my Knowledge of the many important concerns which engage the Attention of the Congress; but as I find my difficulties thicken every day, I make no Doubt suitable regard will be paid to a necessity of this kind. The Inconvenience of borrowing such sums, as are constantly requisite must be too plain for me to enlarge on and is a situation from which I should be very happy to be relieved. Upon the best consideration of the Appointment of the several Officers of Commissary General, Muster Master General, Quarter Master General and Pay Master General, 90 Commissary of Artillery &c.; I am clearly

90. On July 27 Congress unanimously elected James Warren Paymaster General of the Continental Army.

of Opinion that they not only conduce to Order, Dispatch and Discipline, but that is a Measure of Oeconomy. The Delay, the Waste, and unpunishable Neglect of Duty arising from these Offices being in commission in several Hands, evidently shew that the Public Expence must be finally enhanced. I have experienced the Want of these Officers, in

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completing the returns of Men, Ammunition and Stores, the latter are yet very imperfect from the Number of Hands in which they are dispersed.

I have enclosed the last Weekly return, which is more accurate than the former, and hope in a little time we shall be perfectly regular in this, as well as some other necessary Branches of Duty. I have made Inquiry with respect to the Establishment of the Hospital and find it in a very unsettled Condition. There is no Principal Director, or any Subordination among the Surgeons; of consequence Disputes and Contentions have arisen and must continue until it is reduced to some System. I could wish that it was immediately taken into consideration as the Lives and Health of both Officers and Soldiers so much de pend upon a due regulation of this Department.<sup>91</sup> I have been particularly attentive to the least Symptoms of the Small Pox, hitherto we have been so fortunate, as to have every Person removed so soon, as not only to prevent any Communication, but any Apprehension or Alarm it might give in the Camp. We shall continue the utmost Vigilance against this most dangerous Enemy.

In an Army properly organized, there are sundry Officers of an Inferiour kind, such as Waggon Master, Master Carpenter &ca. but I doubt whether my Powers are sufficiently extensive for such Appointments;

91. On July 27 Congress adopted an establishment for a military hospital. Dr. Benjamin Church was elected director and chief physician.

if it is thought proper to repose such a Trust in me, I shall be governed in the Discharge of it, by a strict regard to Oeconomy and the public Interest.

My Instructions from the Honorable Congress, direct that no Troops are to be disbanded without their express directions, nor to be recruited to more than double the number of the Enemy.

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Upon this Subject I beg leave to represent, that unless the Regiments of this Province are more successful in recruiting, than I have reason to expect, a reduction of some of them will be highly necessary, as the Public is put to the whole expence of an Establishment of Officers, while the real Strength of the Regiment, which consists in the Rank and file, is defective. In case of such a Reduction, doubtless some of the Privates and all the Officers would return Home, but many of the former would go into the remaining regiments, and having had some experience of Service, would fill them up with useful men. I so plainly perceive the expence of this Campaign will exceed any calculation hitherto made, that I am particularly anxious to strike off every unnecessary charge. You will therefore, Sir, be pleased to favor me with the Commands of the Congress as to the mode of the reduction if it should appear to be necessary, that no Time may be lost when that necessity appears.

Yesterday we had an Account that the Light House was set on Fire;—by whom and under what orders, I have not yet learn'd: But we have reason to believe it has been done by some of our Irregulars.

You will please to present me to the Congress with the utmost Duty and respect, and believe me to be, Sir, etc.

P. S: Capt: Darby's stay in England was so short, that he brings no other Information than what the inclosed Letter and the News paper which will accompany this contain.—General Gage's Dispatches had not arrived and the Ministry affected to disbelieve the whole Account, treating it as a Fiction or at most as an Affair of very little consequence.<sup>92</sup>

92. The L. S., in the writing of Joseph Reed, is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

**To COLONEL JOHN HANCOCK**

Cambridge, July 21, 1775.

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Dear Sir: I am particularly to Acknowledge that part of your Favor of the 10th instant, wherein you do me honor of determining to join the Army under my command.<sup>93</sup> I need certainly make no Professions of the Pleasure I shall have in seeing you: At the same time I have to regret, that so little is in my Power to offer, equal to Colonel Hancock's Merits and worthy his Acceptance. I shall be happy in every Opportunity to shew the regard and Esteem with which I am, etc.

93. Hancock's letter, dated July to, 1775, is in the *Washington Papers*, Although protesting in it his desire to serve in any capacity, even if it were "to take the firelock and join the ranks as a volunteer," he did not persist in that determination.

### **To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

Camp Cambridge, 5 o'Clock p.m., July 21, 1775.

Sir: Since closing the Letters which accompany this I have received an Account of the Destruction of the Light House, a Copy of which I have the Honor to inclose<sup>94</sup> and of again assuring you that, I am with great respect, etc.

P.S. I have also received a more authentic Account of the Loss of the Enemy in the late Battle, than any yet received. Doctor Winship who lodged in the same House with an Officer of the Marines, assures me they had exactly 1043 killed and Wounded, of whom 300 fell on the Field or died within a few Hours,—Many of the Wounded are since dead.

94. The inclosure was William Heath's letter to Washington, dated July 21, 1775, a contemporary copy of which is in the *Washington Papers*.

### **To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

Cambridge, July 27, 1775.

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Sir: Nothing material has occurred in either Camp since I had the Honor of Addressing you on the 21st inst. by Express. But on Tuesday 3 Men of War and 6 Transports sailed out of Boston Harbour and stood a Course about E. S. E.

One Groves who came out of Boston the same Evening, informed the Officer at one of the Out Posts, that the Transports had on Board 600 Men and were bound to Block Island, Fishers Island and Long Island, to plunder them and bring off what Cattle they may find. This Fellow returned again into Boston under such suspicious circumstances that it has led me to doubt the Truth of his Intelligence.

A Deserter who came in afterwards, informs me, that it was given out in the Camp they were either gone for Indian or fresh Provisions and that each Transport had but 20 Men on Board. Upon this Intelligence, I immediately wrote to Govr. Cook of Rhode Island and to General Wooster, that they might take proper precautions for removing the Cattle of those Islands and to prevent any surprize. As we are confirmed by every Account of the great Scarcity of fresh Provisions in the Enemy's Camp, and particularly by the Deserter who says they have had none since the Battle of Lexington. It is very probable this Voyage may be only intended for a supply. But as it may possibly be otherwise I thought it best to transmit the Intelligence to the Honorable Congress, that they may either

forward it to the Southward or take any other step which they may judge proper.

Since Writing the above 3 more Deserters have come out, which makes 4 in 24 Hours. their Accounts correspond with those of the first who came out, and which I have related above. I have &ca.26

**To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

July [27], 1775.

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Sir: I am to acknowledge your Favor of the 17th Inst. informing me of the destination of the Troops raising in your Colony. As the season is now advanced and the Enemy considerably reinforced, we have the utmost Reason to believe expect, any Attack that may be made, will not be much longer delayed; I should therefore think it highly necessary, the new raised Troops should join the Army with all possible Expedition. Upon Inquiry with respect to the Flour, I do not find our Necessities to be such as to require an immediate Transportation during the Harvest, but as soon as it can be sent with Convenience, you will please to give directions for that Purpose. —

26. The L. S. is in the writing of Joseph Reed.

Colo. Trumbull will advise you to what Place it is to be addressed and to whose care.

Agreeable to your Intimation, I have ordered the Express to wait on you and shall do so in future.

We have had no Occurrence in the Camp of any material Consequence; on both sides we are Strengthening our Lines in full view of each other.—I am Sir, etc.

### **To MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER**

Cambridge Camp, July 27, 1775.

Sir: Yesterday a Deputation from the Provincial Congress of New Hampshire, attended me with a Request that three Companies raised in their Province and now posted on Connecticut River at and between the two Colonies, commanded by Captains Timothy Bedel, James Osgood, and John Parker, might be continued for the Security of the Frontiers of that Province, on the continental Establishment. As it did not appear to me that their Request could be complied with, and as I apprehend you may have more immediate Occasion for them than I have, I thought it proper to give you the earliest Notice where they are, that if you think proper you may order them to join the Troops under your

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Command. In which Case, you will please to write to Matthew Thornton Esqr. President of the Provincial Congress. Each Company consists of sixty-five Men including Officers, and are reported to me as able-bodied, stout, active Fellows, used to the Woods, capable of any Duty and having an Acquaintance with Canada. But you will please to remember, that they must continue under their own Officers; to whom they are attached, and subject only to superior Command. We have had no Transaction

of any Consequence since I wrote you last. Our Army is in good Health, and Spirits, well supplied with all Kinds of Provisions. The Situation of the Enemy is directly the Reverse, and we have Reason to think Desertions will be very great. Four have come out within the last twenty four Hours. I am, Sir, etc.

### **To MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER**

Camp, Cambridge, July 28, 1775.

Sir: I wrote you yesterday by way of New York, and in two Hours afterwards was favored with yours of the 15th and 18th inst., with their respective Enclosures. I was extremely glad to find your first Apprehensions of an Incursion by the Indians, in some Degree removed, by the late Advices. At the same Time I think it is evident from the Spirit and Tenor of Colonel Johnson's Letter, that no Art or Influence will be left untried by him to engage them in such an Enterprize. Should he once prevail upon them to dip their Hands in Blood, mutual Hostilities will most probably ensue, and they may be led to take a more decisive Part. All Accounts I think agree, that the Canadians are very averse

to engage in this unnatural Contest; but I am persuaded you will not abate in the least your Vigilance to expedite every Movement in that Quarter, notwithstanding their present pacifick appearances. I am much easier with respect to the publick Interest since your Arrival at Ticonderoga, as I am persuaded those abilities, and that zeal for the common Wellfare which have led your Country to repose such Confidence in you will be fully exerted. From my own Experience I can easily judge of your Difficulties to introduce



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Order and Discipline into Troops, who have from their Infancy imbibed Ideas of the most contrary kind. It would be far beyond the Compass of a Letter for me to describe the Situation of Things here on my arrival. Perhaps you will only be able to judge of it from my assuring you, that mine must be a Portrait at full length of what you have had in Miniature. Confusion and Disorder reigned in every Department, which in a little Time must have ended either in the Separation of the Army, or fatal Contests with one another. The better Genius of America has prevailed, and most happily the ministerial Troops have not availed themselves of their Advantages, 'till I trust the Opportunity is in a great Measure past over. The Arrangement of the General Officers in Massachusetts

and Connecticut has been very unpopular, indeed I may say injudicious. It is returned to the Congress for farther Consideration and has much retarded my Plan of Discipline. However we mend every Day, and I flatter myself that in a little Time, we shall work up these raw Materials into good Stuff. I must recommend to you what I endeavour to practise myself, Patience, and Perseverance. As to your Operations, my dear Sir, I can suggest nothing which your own good Judgment will not either anticipate, or controul, from your immediate View of Things and the Instructions of the Continental Congress.<sup>29</sup>

The Express from hence to England with the Account of the Commencement of Hostilities at Lexington has returned. It was far from making the Impression generally expected here. Stocks fell but 1½ pt. Ct. General Gage's Account had not arrived and the Enemy affected to treat it as a Fiction. Parliament had been prorogued two Days; but it was reported it would be immediately recalled. Our Enemy continues strongly posted about a Mile from us, both at Bunker's Hill and Roxbury; but we are not able to get any Information of their future Intentions. Part of the Rifle-Men are come in and the rest daily expected. I did not expect your Returns would be very

29. Two letters picture Schuyler's difficulties:

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“The unhappy controversy which has subsisted between the officers at Ticonderoga relative to the command, has, I am informed, thrown every thing into vast confusion; troops have been dismissed, others refused to serve, if this or that man commands; the sloop is without either captain or pilot, both of which are dismissed or come away...A very considerable waste or embezzlement [of provisions] has occurred.”— *Schuyler to the President of Congress*, July 11, 1775.

“Unfortunately not one earthly thing has been done to enable me to move hence. I have neither boats sufficient, nor any materials prepared for building them. The stores I ordered from New York are not yet arrived: I have therefore not a nail, no pitch, no oakum, and want a variety of articles indispensably necessary...An almost equal scarcity of ammunition subsists, no powder having yet come to hand; not a gun carriage for the few proper guns we have, and as yet very little provisions; two hundred troops less than by my last return, these badly, very badly, armed indeed, and one poor armorer to repair their guns.”— *Schuyler to the President of Congress*, July 21, 1775.

The letters are in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

compleat at first; but I must beg your Attention to reforming them as soon as possible: and I beg leave to add that I would have you scrutinize with Exactness into the Application of Provision and Stores. I have the utmost Reason to suspect Irregularities and Impositions here. You will be fortunate, if the Contagion does not reach you. General Lee has removed about four Miles from me;<sup>30</sup> but I will take the first Opportunity to make your kind Wishes known to him. Colonel R. and Major M.<sup>31</sup> join me in the best Wishes for your Health and Happiness. I am, Dr. Sir, etc.

### **To THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY OF NEW HAMPSHIRE**

Camp at Cambridge, August 4, 1775.

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Gentn.: Your Public Capacity and the hope that you will be both able and willing to give us some Assistance, has led me to make this Application; The Situation of the Army as to Amunition is by no Means what it ought to be, we have great Reason to expect the Enemy very soon intend to bombard our Lines, and our Stock of Powder is so small, as in a great Degree to make our heavy Artillery useless:

30. Maj. Gen. Charles Lee's quarters were at Winter Hill, near Medford, Mass.

31. Joseph Reed and Thomas Mifflin.

I must therefore request you will exert yourselves to forward what ever can be spared from your Province as soon as Possible. The Necessity is great, the cause is of the last Importance; I am therefore persuaded I need use no Arguments to quicken your Zeal, The smallest Quantities are not beneath Notice, as a considerable Stock may be formed from various Collections; Lead and Flints are also very scarce, you will therefore furnish all you can spare. Next to making the Provisions, its being seasonable is of great Importance, every Hour in our present Situation is Critical.

Should there be any Arrivals in any Part of your Province with this Necessary Article, I must request you to forward all that can Possibly be spared out of it.

I am Gentn. very Respectfully, etc.

**To GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE**

Camp at Cambridge, August 4, 1775.

Sir: I am Yesterday favored with yours of the 31st July; We have yet no certain Accounts of the Fleet which Sail'd out of Boston the 25th; but if our Conjectures and Information are just we may expect to hear of it every Hour. I am now, Sir, in strict Confidence to acquaint you, that our Necessities in the Articles of Powder and Lead are so great as to

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require an immediate Supply. I must earnestly intreat you will fall upon some Measure to forward every Pound of each in the Colony which can possibly be spared; It is not within the Propriety or Safety of such a Correspondence to say what I might on this Subject; It is sufficient that the Case calls loudly for the most strenuous Exertions of every friend of his Country and does not admit of the least delay. No Quantity, however Small, is beneath notice and should any arrive, I beg it may be forwarded as soon as Possible; But a Supply of this kind is so precarious, not only from the Danger of the Enemy, but the opportunity of Purchasing, that I have resolved in my mind every other possible chance and listned to every proposition on the subject which could give the smallest Hope; Among others I have had one mentioned which has some Weight with me, as well as the General Officers to whom I have proposed it, one Harris is lately come from

Bermuda, where there is a very considerable Magazine of Powder in a remote Part of the Island and the Inhabitants well disposed not only to our Cause in General, but to assist in this Enterprize in particular; we understand there are two Armed Vessels in your Province commanded by Men<sup>52</sup> of known Activity and Spirit; one of which it is proposed to dispatch on this Errand, with such other assistance as may be required; Harris is to go along as the Conductor of the Enter prize and to avail ourselves of his knowledge of the Island, but without any Command. I am very sensible that at first view the project may appear hazardous and its Success must depend on the Concurrence of many Circumstances; but we are in a Situation which requires us to run all Risques. No Danger is to be considered when put in Competition with the Magnitude of the Cause and the Absolute Necessity we are under of increasing our Stock. Enterprises which appear Chimerical, often prove successful from that very Circumstance, Common Sense & Prudence will Suggest Vigilance and care, when the Danger is Plain and obvious, but where little Danger is apprehended, the more the enemy is unprepared and consequently there is the fain'd Prospect of Success.<sup>53</sup>

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Mr. Brown<sup>54</sup> has been mentioned to me as a very Proper Person to consult upon this Occasion you will judge of the Propriety of communicating it to him in Part or the whole, and as soon as

52. Capt. Abraham Whipple was the one who sailed to Bermuda.

53. See Washington's letter to the Inhabitants of the Island of Bermuda, Sept. 6, 1775, *post*.

54. Probably Nicholas Brown, a merchant and shipowner of Providence, R. I.

possible, favor me with your Sentiments and the Steps you may have taken to forward it. If no immediate and safe Opportunity offers you will please to do it by Express. Should it be inconvenient to part with one of the armed Vessels, perhaps some other might be fitted out, or you could devise some other Mode of executing this Plan; so that in case of a Disappointment, the Vessel might proceed to some other Island to purchase. My last Letter from the Honorable Continental Congress, recommends my procuring from the Colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Island a Quantity of Tow Cloth, for the purpose of making of Indian or Hunting Shirts for the Men, many of whom are very destitute of Cloathing; A Pattern will be sent you and I must request you to give the Necessary Directions throughout your Government, that all the Cloth of the above Kind may be bought up for this use, and suitable Persons set to work to make it up. As soon as any Number is made worth the Conveyance, you will Please to direct them to be forwarded; It is designed as a Species of Uniform both cheap and convenient. We have had no Transactions in either Camp since my last but what are in the Public Papers and related with tolerable Accuracy. The Enemy still continue to strengthen their Lines and we have Reason to believe intend to bombard ours, with the Hopes of forcing us out of them, Our Poverty in Amunition prevents our making a suitable Return.

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Since writing the above, Col. Porter<sup>55</sup> has undertaken to assist in the Matter, or to provide some suitable Person to accompany Harris to you, who will communicate all Circumstances to you. I am &c.

55. Col. Elisha Porter.

### To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Cambridge, August 4, 1775.

Sir: I am to acknowledge the receipt of your Favor of the 24th. July, accompanied by 284 Commissions, which are yet much short of the necessary number. I am much honored by the Confidence reposed in me of appointing the several Officers recommended in mine of the 10th Ult: and shall endeavour to select such Persons as are best qualified to fill those important Posts. General Thomas has accepted his Commission and I have heard nothing of his retirement since, so that I hope he is satisfied. In the renewal of these Commissions, some Difficulties occur, in which I should be glad to know the Pleasure of the Honorable Congress.

The General Officers of Massachusetts have regiments, those of Connecticut have both Regiments and Companies and the other Field Officers have Companies each. In New Hampshire the General Officers have no Regiments, nor the Field Officers Companies. In Rhode Island the General Officers have no Regiments, but the Field Officers have Companies. tho' I do not find they have or expect Pay under more than one Commission. Should the Commissions now to be delivered, pursue those different Establishments, there will

be a distinction between the General Officers and Field Officers of the same Rank. In order to put New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts upon a Line with Connecticut, it would be necessary to dismiss a Number of Officers in Possession of Commissions, without any Fault of theirs; on the other Hand to bring the Connecticut

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General and Field Officers to the same Scale with the others, will add to the Number of Officers and be deemed inconsistent with the Terms on which they entered into the Service, altho' you add nothing to the Expence, except in the Article of Provisions. Upon the whole it is a case which I would wish the Honorable Congress to consider and determine.

Colo: Gridly of this Province, who is at the Head of the Artillery has the Rank of Major General from the Provincial Congress. Will it be proper to renew his Commission here in the same Manner?<sup>57</sup> It's proper to remark, that in this case he will take rank of all the Brigadier Generals, and even the Major Generals, where Commissions are subsequent in Date and can answer no good purpose whilst it may be

57. Col. Richard Gridley. Congress ordered that he be commissioned a colonel in the Continental Army.

productive of many bad ones.

These are Matters of an Inferiour Concern. I am embarrassed with a Difficulty of a superiour nature. The Estimate made in Congress, supposed all the Regiments to be formed upon one Establishment, but they are different in different Provinces and even in the same in some Particulars. In Massachusetts some regiments have 10 Companies, others eleven.—The Establishment of the former is 590 men Officers included, of the latter 649. The Establishment of Rhode Island and New Hampshire is 590 to a Regiment (Officers included). Connecticut is 1000 men to a regiment, should these Regiments be completed, with the new Levies from Rhode Island Connecticut and the riffle men, the number will exceed 22,000. If they should not be completed as each regiment is fully Officer'd there will be a heavy Expence to the Public without any adequate service. The Reduction of some of them seems to be necessary, and yet is a matter of much delicacy as we are situated. I most earnestly request it may be taken into immediate consideration, and the Time and mode of doing it pointed out, by the Hon: Congress: By an Estimate I

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have made from the General return when the New Levies arrive and the Regiments are completed, there will

be 24,550 men on the Pay and Provision of the United Colonies. Several of the Recruiting Officers who have been out on that Service, have returned with very little Success, so that we may safely conclude the number of 2064 now wanting to complete will rather increase than diminish. There are the Regiment of Artillery consisting of 493 and one under Col: Sergeant who has not received any Commission, altho' he has had orders to raise a regiment from the Provincial Congress here, which are not included in the above estimate.

By adverting to the General return, which I have the Honor of enclosing (No. 1),<sup>58</sup> it will be seen what regiments are most difficient. If the Congress does not chuse to point out the particular Regiments, but the Provinces in which the Reduction is to be made, the several Congresses, or Assemblies, may be the proper Channel for the conduct of this Business, which I should also conceive would be most advisable, from their better Acquaintance with the Merits, Terms and Time of their respective Officers. Reducing of some Regiments and with the Privates thereof to fill up others, would certainly be the most eligible Method of accomplishing this Work, if it

58. The copy of this return, which Washington inclosed, dated July 29, 1775, is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*. By it the Massachusetts Bay regiments numbered 26, and 4 independent companies; Connecticut regiments, 3; New Hampshire regiments, 3; and Rhode Island regiments, 3. Commissioned officers: 30 colonels, 31 lieutenant colonels, 35 majors, 289 captains, 511 lieutenants, 73 ensigns. Staff officers: 14 chaplains, 34 adjutants, 35 second masters, 35 surgeons, 30 masters. Noncommissioned officers: 1,202 sergeants, 612 drums and fifes. Rank and file present fit for duty, 13,899. Sick: Present 1,330; absent 1,690; on furlough, 287; on command, 692. Total rank and file, 16,898. Necessary to complete: 124 sergeants, 105 drums and fifes, 2,079 privates. Col. Paul Dudley Sargent's regiment was not included in the return.



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were practicable, but the experiment is dangerous, as the Massachusetts men under the Privilege of chusing their own Officers, do not conceive themselves bound if their Officers should be disbanded.

As General Gage is making preparations for Winter, by contracting for Quantities of Coal, it will suggest to us the Propriety of extending our Views to that Season. I have directed that such Huts as have been made of Boards, should be done in such a Manner, that if necessary, they may serve for covering during the Winter. But I need not enlarge upon the variety of Necessities such as Clothing, Fuel &ca., which is exceeding scarce and difficult to be got, which that season must bring with it, if the Army or any considerable part of it is to remain embodied. From the Inactivity of the Enemy, since the arrival of their whole Reinforcement, their continual Addition to their Lines and many other circumstances, I am inclined to think, that finding us so well prepared to receive them, the Plan of Operations is varied, that they mean by regular Approaches to bombard us out of our present Lines of Defence, or, are waiting in expectation that the Colonies must sink under the expence, or the Prospect of a Winter Campaign so discourage the Troops as to break up our Army. If they have not some such Expectation, the Issue of which they are de

termined to wait. I cannot Account for the Delay, when their Strength is lessened every day by Sickness, Desertions and little Skirmishes. Of these last we had only two worthy of Notice. Having some reason to suspect they were extending their Lines at Charles Town, I last Saturday Evening ordered some of the Rifle Men down to make a Discovery or bring off a Prisoner; they were accidentally discovered sooner than they expected by the Guard coming to relieve and Obligated to fire upon them: We have reason to believe they killed several, they brought in two Prisoners, whose Accounts confirmed by some other circumstances removed moved my Suspicions in part. Since that Time we have on each side drawn in our Centries and there have been scattering Fires along the Lines. This Evening we have heard of three Captains who have been taken off by the Rifle Men and one killed by a Cannon Shot from Roxbury, besides several Privates; but as the

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Intelligence is not direct, I only mention it as a report which deserves Credit. The other happened at the Light House; A Number of Workmen having been sent down to repair it, with a Guard of 32 Marines and a Subaltern. Major Tupper, last Monday Morning about 2 oClock

landed there with about 300 Men Attack'd them killed the Officer and 4 Privates, the remainder thereof, which are badly wounded he brought off Prisoners with 10 Tories, all of whom are on their Way to Springfield Gaol. But being detained by the Tide on his Return, he was Attack'd by several Boats, but happily got thro' with the loss of one Man killed and another Wounded. The Enemy in Return endeavoured to surprize our Guard at Roxbury, but they being apprized of it by a Deserter had Time in some Measure to prepare for it, but from the Misconduct or negligence of the Officer they burnt the George Tavern on the neck and have every Day since been cannonading us from their Lines, both at Roxbury and Charles Town, but with no other Effect than the Loss of two Men. The Rifle Men in their Skirmish lost one Man who we hear is a Prisoner in Boston Gaol. On our Part, except the stragglng Fires on the Lines which we endeavour to restrain, we have made little or no return.

Our Situation in the Article of Powder is much more alarming, than I had the most distant Idea of. Having desired a return to be made me on my arrival, of the Ammunition, I found 308 Bbbls. of Powder mentioned as in the Store.

But on ordering

a new Supply of Cartridges Yesterday, I was informed to my very great Astonishment, that there was no more than 36 Bbbls. in the Massachusetts Store, which added to the Stock of Rhode Island, New Hampshire and Connecticut makes 9940 lb. not more than 9 Cartridges a Man.

As there had been no Consumption of Powder since, which could in any Degree account for such a Deficiency I was very particular in my Inquiries and found, that the Committee of

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Supplies, not being sufficiently acquainted with the Nature of a return or misapprehending my request, sent in an Account of all the Ammunition which had been collected by the Province, so that the report included not only what was on hand but what had been spent. Upon discovering this mistake, I immediately went up to confer with the Speaker of the House of Representatives upon some measures to obtain a supply from the Neighbouring Townships, in such a manner as might prevent our Poverty from being known. As it is a secret of too much consequence to be devulg'd, even to the General Court. some Individual of which might perhaps indiscretly suffer it to escape him so as to get to the Enemy. The Consequences of which are terrible even in Idea. I shall also write

to the Governors of Rhode Island, Connecticut and the Committee of Safety at New Hampshire on this Subject, urging in the most forcible Terms the Necessity of an immediate supply if in their Power. I need not enlarge on our melancholy Situation it is sufficient to say that the existence of the Army and Salvation of the Country depends upon some thing being done for our relief both speedy and effectual and that our Situation be kept a profound Secret.

In the inclosures (No. 2 & 3) I send the allowance of Provisions &ca. made by the Provinces of Connecticut and Massachusetts; the Mode and Quantity are different from what have fallen within my experience and I am confident must prove very expensive and wasteful. If any alteration can be safely made, (which I much Doubt) there might be a great saving to the Public.

A Gentleman of my Family assisted by a Deserter, who has some Skill in Fortification, has by my direction sketch'd out two Draughts of our respective Lines at Roxbury and Charles Town which with the Explanations, will convey some Idea of our Situation and I hope prove acceptable to the Members of the Honorable Congress. They are the Inclosures No. 4 and 5.59

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59. Lieut. Col. John Trumbull, the artist. The sketches, with Washington's letter, which is a L. S. in the writing of Joseph Reed, are in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

Since I had the Honor of Addressing you last I have been applied to by a Committee of the General Court, for a Detachment of the Army to protect the Inhabitants of the Eastern part of this Province from some apprehended Depredations on their Coast. I could have wish'd to have complied with their request but after due consideration and consulting the other General Officers, together with those Members of Congress who are here, I thought it my Duty to excuse myself. Their Application and my Answer are the Inclosures No. 6 and 7, which I hope will be approved by the Honorable Congress.

Since I began this Letter, the Original of which the Inclosure (No. 8) is a Copy, fell into my Hands, as the Writer is a Person of some note in Boston and it contains some advices of Importance not mentioned by others. I thought proper to forward it as I received it, by comparing it with the Hand Writing of another Letter, it appears the Writer is one Belcher Noyes, a Person probably known to some of the Gentlemen Delegates of this Province, who can determine from his Principles and Character what Credit is due to him.<sup>60</sup>

60. A copy of Noyes's letter, by Mifflin, is filed with Washington's in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*. It describes the situation in Boston and the mortality among the British troops, due to disease.

The Army is now formed into 3 grand Divisions under the command of the Generals Ward, Lee and Putnam; each Division into two Brigades consisting of about 6 Regiments each, commanded by the Generals Thomas and Spencer at Roxbury; Heath at Cambridge, Sullivan and Green on Winter Hill. By this you will observe there is a Dificiency of one Brigadier General occasioned by Mr. Pomroy's refusal to accept his commission, which I beg leave to request may be filled up as soon as possible.

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I observe the Congress have honored me with the Appointment of 3 Brigade Majors. I suppose they have or intend to appoint the rest soon, as they cannot be unacquainted that one is necessary for each Brigade, and in a new raised Army it will be an Office of great Duty and Service.

General Gage has at length liberated the People of Boston, who land in numbers at Chelsea, every Day.—the Terms on which the Passes are granted as to Money, Effects and Provisions correspond with Mr. Noyes's Letter.

We have several reports that General Gage was dismantling the Castle and bringing all the Cannon up to Town; but upon a very particular

Inquiry, Accounts are so various I cannot ascertain the Truth of it. I am sorry to be under a necessity of making such frequent Examples among the Officers, where a Sense of Honor and the Interest of their country might be expected to make Punishment unnecessary. Since my last, Captain Parker of Massachusetts for frauds in drawing Provisions and Captain Gardiner of Rhode Island for cowardice, in running away from his Guard on an Alarm, have been broke. As nothing can be more fatal to an Army than crimes of this kind, I am determined, by every motive of reward and Punishment, to prevent them in future.

Yesterday a Chief of the Cagnewaga Tribe,<sup>61</sup> who lives within 6 miles from Montreal, came in here accompanied by a Col: Bailey of Cohoss.<sup>62</sup> His Accounts of the Temper and Disposition of the Indians are very favourable; He says they have been strongly solicited by Governor Carlton<sup>63</sup> to engage against us: But his Nation is totally averse; that Threats as well as Intreaties have been used without Effect; That the Canadians are well disposed to the English Colonies and if any Expedition is meditated against Canada, the Indians in that Quarter will give all their Assistance.

61. Chief Louis, of the Caugnewagas.

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62. Col. Jacob Bayley, later a brigadier general of New Hampshire troops and deputy quartermaster general at Coos. He was active in pushing the project for a military road from the Connecticut River to St. Johns, in Canada.

63. Sir Guy Carleton, then Governor of Canada, and, later, British commander in chief in America.

I have endeavoured to cherish those favorable Dispositions and recommended to him to cultivate them on his return. What I have said, I enforced with a Present, which I understood would be agreeable and as he is represented to be a man of weight and consequence in his own Tribe, I flatter myself his visit will have a good Effect. His Account of Governor Carlton's Force and Situation at St. Johns corresponds with what we have already had from that Quarter.

The accession of Georgia to the measures of the Congress is a happy Event and must give a sincere Pleasure to every Friend of America.<sup>64</sup>

August 5th.

We have Accounts this morning of two Explosions at the Castle, so that its Destruction may be now supposed certain. I have this morning been much alarmed with an Information, that two Gentlemen from Philadelphia, Mr. Hitchbourn<sup>65</sup> and Captain White<sup>66</sup> with Letters for General Lee and myself, and other Gentlemen have been taken by Captain Ayscough at Rhode Island, the Letters intercepted and sent forward to Boston with the Bearers as Prisoners. That the Captain exulted much on the discoveries he had made, and my Informer, who was in the Boat but released, understood them to be Letters of consequence. I have therefore dispatch'd the Express immediately back, tho' I had before resolved

64. Sending of delegates to the Continental Congress.

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65. Benjamin Hitchbourn. He, later, furnished some secret intelligence of the British.

66. The intercepted letters were from John Adams to James Warren and to Abigail Adams. They were published in Draper's *Massachusetts Gazette* of Aug. 17, 1775.

to detain him 'till Fessenden's return; I shall be anxious till I am relieved from the Suspence I am in, as to the Contents of these Letters.

It is exceedingly unfortunate that Gentlemen should chuse to travel the only Road on which there is Danger. Let the event of this be what it will, I hope it will serve as a general caution against trusting any Letters that way in future. Nothing of consequence has occurred in the Camp these two days. The Inhabitants of Boston continue coming out at Chelsea, but under a new restriction, that no men shall come out without Licence, which is refused to all Mechanicks since the Labourers were taken at the Light House.<sup>67</sup> I am &ca.

67. Read before Congress on September 13. Congress had adjourned on August 1 to meet on September 5, but from the small attendance on that day a further adjournment was made to September 13. The many important questions raised by Washington were such as Congress did not feel competent to pass upon without more definite information. To secure this it appointed a committee, consisting of Mr. Franklin, Mr. Harrison, and Mr. Lynch, to go to the camp and consult with the General. (See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, September 29 and 30, 1775.)

### To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

August 4, 1775.

Sir: I am favored with yours of the 31st July, informing me, that the New Levies<sup>56</sup> are coming forward with all expedition; As the Enemy has lain much longer inactive than I expected, I hope they will arrive in Time to give us their Assistance.

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My last Letter from the Honble. Continental Congress, recommends my procuring from the Colonies of Rhode Island and Connecticut, a Quantity of Tow Cloth, for the Purpose of making of Indian or Hunting Shirts for the Men, many of whom are destitute of Cloathing. A Pattern is herewith sent you; and I must request you, to give the necessary Directions throughout your Government, that all the Cloth of the above kind may be bought up for this Use, and suitable Persons set to work to make it up, As soon as any Number is made, worth the Conveyance, you will please to direct them to be forwarded. It is design'd as a Species of Uniform, both cheap and Convenient.

We have had no transactions of any Consequence in either Camp since my last, but what are in the Public Papers and related with tolerable Accuracy. I am now, Sir, in strict Confidence, to acquaint you that our Necessities, in the Article of Powder and Lead, are so great, as to require an immediate Supply.

56. Fourteen hundred new troops ordered raised by the Connecticut Legislature.

I must earnestly intreat you to fall upon some Measures to forward to us every ounce in the Province which can possibly be spared. It is not within the Propriety of such a Correspondence to say what I might upon this Subject; It is sufficient that the Case Calls loudly for the warmest and most strenuous Exertions of every Friend to his Country, and does not admit of the least Delay; No Quantity however small is beneath Notice and should any Arrive I beg it may be forwarded to us as fast as Possible.

The Express having left his Horse at Hartford, is under the Necessity of going that way. I am &c.

**To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Camp at Cambridge, August 14, 1775.



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Sir: Your Favor's of the 7th, 8th and 12th Inst. are all received. The Detention of the New Raised Levies has happily coincided with my Intentions respecting them. In the present uncertainty I think it best they should Continue where they are and I hope their Officers will be Assiduous in disciplining and improving them in the use of their Arms.

Upon the Subject of Powder I am at a Loss what to say—our Necessities are so great and it is of such Importance that this Army should have a full Supply, that nothing but the most urgent and pressing Exigence could make it proper to detain any on its way—I have been informed that 15 Hhds were lately landed at New York and that further Supplies were daily expected both there and at Connecticut; Should there be any Arrivals, I beg no time may be lost in forwarding this from Hartford and what can be spared from the necessary Colony Stock. Indeed at present I should choose you to forward one of these Waggon and the other may remain where it is till we see the Issue of our Expectations on this Head. The Removal from Boston I consider as very precarious, by no Means deserving to have so much Stress laid on it. We begin to feel a Scarcity of Lead and as I do not learn that we are to expect any

from the Southward. I have concluded that a Part of the Stock found at Ticonderoga should be brought down and for this Purpose have wrote to Genl. Schuyler. I am not sufficiently Master of the Geography of the Country to know the easiest Mode of Conveyance; but from the Time in which Letters have come thro' your Hands, I apprehend thro' Connecticut must be the best and most expeditious. You will therefore be pleased to give us your Assistance, and take the Direction of this Matter, into your own Hands to which I have not the least doubt, you will attend, as well to the Expence, as other Circumstances conducive to the Public Service.

Nothing new in the Camp for several days past, five Deserters have come in within these 48 Hours, but they bring no Intelligence of any Consequence. Since writing the above I have been informed there is a Lead Mine in your Colony which may be work'd to Advantage. Cut off from all foreign Supplies every internal Resource is worthy of attention

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and I make no doubt if my Information is just some proper Steps may be taken to hire this to the Public Advantage. I am Sir &c.

**To GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE**

August 14, 1775.

Sir: Your Favors of the 8th & 11th Instant, are duly received; the former, I laid before the General Court of this Province, but one of the Delegates having communicated to them what Mr. Ward did to you, of the proceedings of the Continental Congress touching this Powder, nothing was done towards the providing of Specie, that the Vessel might proceed to other Places in case of a Disappointment at the first. I am of Opinion that the Collection of any considerable Sum here, would be difficult in the Time proposed and I think there is the less Necessity for it, as there are few Colonies who have not some Vessel out on this Errand, and will probably bring all that is at Market. Having conversed with Col Porter and farther considered the Matter, I am of Opinion, it ought to be prosecuted on the Single Footing of procuring what is in the Magazine; The Voyage is short, our Necessity is great, the Expectation of being Supplied by the Inhabitants of the Island under such Hazards as they must run is slender, so that the only Chance of Success is by a sudden stroke. There is a great Difference between acquiescing in the Measure and becoming Principals, the former we have great Reason to expect the latter is doubtful, The Powder by all our Information is public Property, so that as you observe it may be settled with our other Accounts. The draughting of Men from hence

would be very difficult and endanger a Discovery of the scheme; I am not clear that I have Power to send them off the Continent and to engage them as Volunteers, it would be necessary to make their Destination known; I should suppose the Captain who is to have the Direction of this Enterprize, would rather choose to have Men whom he knew and in whom he could confide, in Preference to Strangers. From what Col Porter informs me I do not see that Harris's Presence is absolutely necessary, and as his Terms would add

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Considerably to the Expence, after obtaining from him all the Intelligence he could give, his attendance might be dispensed with. The Vessel lately sent out to cruise for the Powder, seems to me the properest for this Voyage, and as the Ten Days will soon be out, if no objection occurs to you she might be dispatch'd.

I have given Directions respecting the Lead at Ticonderoga, which I am of opinion with you is the surest Mode of Supply in that Article.

I have sent by this Opportunity a hunting Shirt, as a Pattern. I should be glad you would inform me of the Number you think I may expect.

I had flattered myself, that the Vigilance of the Inhabitants on the Islands and Coasts would have disappointed the Enemy in their late Expedition after live Stock.—I hope nothing will be omitted by the several Committees and other Persons to guard against

any future attempts, by removing all the Stock from these Places, where their Shipping can protect them in plundering. I do assure you Sir, that it would be rendering a most essential Service to the Public Interest, their Distresses before were very great, and if renewed after their present supply is exhausted, must be productive of very great advantages.<sup>96</sup> I am Sir &c.

### **To MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER**

Cambridge Camp, August 15, 1775.

Sir: I received your Favour of the 31st July, informing me of your Preparations to cross the Lake,<sup>97</sup> and inclosing the Affidavits of John Shatforth, and John Duguid.<sup>98</sup> Several Indians of the Tribe of St. Francis came in here Yesterday and confirm the former Accounts of the good Dispositions of the Indian Nations, and Canadians to the Interests of America. A most happy Event, on which I sincerely congratulate you.<sup>99</sup> I am glad to relieve you from your Anxiety, respecting Troops being sent from Boston to Quebeck.

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These Reports, I apprehend, took their Rise from a Fleet being fitted out about fourteen Days ago to plunder the Islands in the Sound, of their live Stock; an Expedition

96. General Gage wrote to the minister (August 17) that the ships had collected and brought in 1,300 sheep and 100 oxen—a very seasonable supply. “We owe it,” Burgoyne wrote to Lord George Germain, “to the transports arrived and sent out by General Gage, and not to any assistance from the fleet.” The complaints against Admiral Graves, the commander of the fleet, were loud and general. Burgoyne ridiculed his inactivity and “Quaker-like scruples”; W. Eden spoke of him as “a corrupt admiral without any shadow of capacity”; and as early as July 28, the King wrote to Lord North: “I do think the Admiral's removal as necessary, if what is reported is founded, as the mild General's” (Gage). Captain Montague, who served under Graves, and was a prejudiced witness, wrote to the Earl of Dunmore (August 9): “The G—I and A—I on bad terms, the latter universally despised, his character prostituted in the basest manner, totally ignorant of the business he is employed on; he only turns his mind to find out ways of promoting his nephews.”—*Ford*.

97. To take possession of St. John's and Montreal, Canada, a move authorized by the resolve of Congress of June 27. Schuyler wrote to Washington from Ticonderoga, N.Y. (July 31): “Since my last, I have been most assiduously employed in preparing materials for building boats to convey me across the Lake. The progress has hitherto been slow, as with few hands I had all the timber to cut, and mills to repair for sawing the plank; and my draft cattle extremely weak for want of feed, the drought having scorched up every kind of herbage. I have now one boat on the stocks, which I hope will carry near three hundred men. Another is putting up to-day. Provisions of the bread kind are scarce with me, and, therefore, I have not dared to order up a thousand men, that are at Albany, lest we should starve here.”

98. Of Charlotte County, N.Y.

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99. "Yesterday Sen-night arrived at the camp in Cambridge, Swashan, the Chief, with four other Indians of the St. François tribe, conducted thither by Mr. Reuben Colburn, who has been honorably recompensed for his trouble. The above Indians came hither to offer their service in the cause of American liberty, have been kindly received, and are now entered the service. Swashan says he will bring one half of his tribe and has engaged 4 or 5 other tribes if they should be wanted. He says the Indians of Canada in general, and also the French, are greatly in our favor, and determined not to act against us."— *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Aug. 30, 1775.

which they have executed with some Success, and are just returning; but you may depend on it no Troops have been detached from Boston for Canada or elsewhere. Among other Wants, of which, I find you have your Proportion, we feel that of Lead most sensibly, and as we have no Expectation of a Supply from the Southward, I have concluded to draw up on the Stock found at Ticonderoga, when it fell into our Hands. I am informed, it is considerable, and a Part of it may be spared, without exposing you to any Inconvenience. In Consequence of this I have wrote to Governor Trumbull, to take the Direction of the Transportation of it, supposing the Conveyance through Connecticut the most safe and expeditious. I expect he will write you on this Subject by this Opportunity.

I have nothing new, my dear Sir, to write you. We are precisely in the same Situation as to Enemy, as when I wrote you last, nor can I gain any certain Intelligence of their future Intentions. The Troops from the Southward are come in very healthy and in good Order.<sup>1</sup> Tomorrow I expect a Supply of Powder from Philadelphia, which will be a most seasonable Relief in our present Necessity.

God grant you Health and Success equal to your Merit and Wishes. —Favour me with Intelligence as often as you can, and believe me with very sincere Regard. Dear Sir,  
Yours, &c.

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1. Capt. Daniel Morgan and his company of riflemen from Virginia arrived in camp on the 6th.— *Ford*.

### To MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER

Head Quarters, Cambridge, August 20, 1775.

Dear Sir: Since my last of the 15th Inst. I have been favoured with yours of the 6th.—I am much concerned to find the Supplies ordered have been so much delayed. By this Time, I hope, Colonel McDougall, whose Zeal is unquestionable, has joined you with every Thing necessary for prosecuting your Plan.

Several of the Delegates from Philadelphia, who have visited our Camp, assure me, that Powder is forwarded to you, and the daily arrivals of that Article give us Reason to hope we shall soon have a very ample supply.<sup>10</sup> Animated with the Goodness of our Cause, and the best wishes of your Countrymen, I am sure you will not let any Difficulties not insuperable, damp your Ardour. Perseverence and spirit have done Wonders in all Ages. In my last (a Copy of which is inclosed) I sent you an account of the Arrival of several St. Francis Indians in our Camp, and their friendly Dispositions. You have also a Copy of the Resolution of Congress, by which you will find it is their Intention only to seek a Neutrality of the Indian Nations, unless the ministerial Agents should engage them in Hostilities or enter into an offensive Alliance with them.<sup>11</sup> I have been therefore embarrassed in giving them an answer when they have tendered their services and assistance. As your Situation enables you best to know the Motions of the Governour<sup>12</sup>

10. The Pennsylvania Council of Safety, on August 10, forwarded 382 pounds of musket and 1,754 pounds of cannon powder, which reached Albany, N.Y., on the 21st

11. This resolve was passed July 1, 1775.

12. Sir Guy Carleton, Governor of Canada.

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and the Agent, I proposed to him to go Home by Way of Ticonderoga, referring him to you for an answer, which you will give according to the Intelligence you have had, and the Judgment you have formed of the Transactions among the Indians; but as he does not seem in any Hurry to leave our Camp, your answer by the Return of this Express may possibly reach me before he returns and alter his Rout; Four of his Company still remain in our Camp, and propose to stay some Time with us. The Design of this Express is to communicate to you a Plan of an Expedition, which has engaged my Thoughts for several Days. It is to penetrate into Canada by Way of Kennebeck River, and so to Quebeck by a Rout ninety miles below Montreal. I can very well spare a Detachment for this Purpose of one Thousand or twelve Hundred Men, and the Land Carriage by the Rout proposed is too inconsiderable to make an objection. If you are resolved to proceed, which I gather from your last Letter is your Intention, it would make a Diversion that would distract Carlton, and facilitate your Views. He must either break up and follow this Party to Quebeck, by which he will leave you a free Passage, or he must suffer that important Place to fall into our Hands, an Event, which would have a decisive Effect and Influence on the publick Interests. There may be some Danger that such a sudden

Incursion might alarm the Canadians and detach them from that Neutrality, which they have hitherto observed: but I should hope that with suitable Precautions and a strict Discipline preserved, any apprehensions and Jealousies might be removed. The few whom I have consulted upon it approve it much; but the final Determination is deferred until I hear from you. You will therefore by the Return of this Messenger inform me of your ultimate Resolution.—If you mean to proceed, acquaint me as particularly as you can with the Time and Force, what late Accounts you have had from Canada, and your Opinion as to the Sentiments of the Inhabitants, as well as those of the Indians upon a Penetration into their Country; what Number of Troops are at Quebeck, and whether any Men of War with all other Circumstances which may be material in the Consideration of a Step of such Importance. Not a Moments Time is to be lost in the Preparations for this Enterprize if the Advices received from you favour it. With the utmost Expedition the

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Season will be considerably advanced, so that you will dismiss the Express as soon as possible. While the three New-Hampshire Companies remain in their present Station, they will not be considered as composing a Part of the continental Army; but as a Militia under the Direction and Pay of the Colony whose Inhabitants they are, or for whose Defence they are stationed: so that it will not be proper for me to give any Orders respecting them.

We still continue in the same Situation as to the Enemy as when I wrote you last; but we have had six and an half Tons of Powder from the Southward which is a very seasonable Supply. We are not able to learn any Thing further of the Intentions of the Enemy, and they are too strongly posted for us to attempt any Thing upon them at present.

My best Wishes attend you, and believe me with much Truth and Regard, etc.

### **To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

Camp at Cambridge, August 31, 1775.

Sir: The inclosed Letter coming under such a Direction and circumstances, as led me to suppose it contained some interesting Advices, either respecting a supply of Powder or the Clothing lately taken at Philadelphia, I took the Liberty of breaking the Seal for which I hope my motives will apologize.

As the filling up the place of the vacant Brigadier General will be of the first Business of the Honble. Congress, I flatter myself it will not be deemed assuming to mention the names of two Gentlemen whose former Services Rank and Age may be thought worthy of attention on this occasion. Of the one I can speak from my own Knowledge of the other only from character, the former is Col: John Armstrong of Pennsylvania, He served during the last War in most of the Campaigns to the Southward, was honoured with the command of the Pennsylvania Forces and his general Military Conduct and Spirit much approved by all who served with him; besides which his character was distinguished by an



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Enterprize against the Indians, which he plann'd with great Judgment and executed with equal courage and Success.<sup>24</sup> It was not 'till lately, that I had reason to believe he would enter again into public Service and it is now wholly unknown and unsolicited on his part.

The other Gentleman is Col: Frye of Massachusetts Bay he entered into the Service as early as 1745, and rose through the different Military Ranks in the succeeding wars to that of Colonel, until last June, when he was appointed a Major General by the Congress of this Province;<sup>25</sup> from these circumstances together with the favorable report made to me of him, I presume he sustained the Character of a good Officer, tho' I do not find it distinguished by any peculiar Service.

24. An attack on the Indian town of Kittanning, Pa., Sept. 8, 1756. A silver medal and piece of plate were presented to Colonel Armstrong by the corporation of Philadelphia for his bravery and good conduct on this occasion. An intimacy of many years' standing subsisted between him and Washington— *Sparks*.

25. Joseph Frye. He had been at the siege of Louisburg on Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia, and was taken prisoner at Fort William Henry, N.Y.

Either of those Gentlemen or any other whom the Hon: Congress shall favor with the Appointment will be received by me with the utmost Deference and respect.<sup>26</sup>

The late adjournment, having made it impracticable to the Pleasure of the Congress as to the appointment of Brigade majors beyond the number of three, which they were pleased to leave to me; and the Service not admitting of farther delay. I have continued the other three, which I hope their Honors will not disapprove. These latter were recommended by the respective Corps to which they belong, as the properest Persons for these Offices until farther directions and have discharged the duty ever since: They are the Majors Box, Scammell and Samuel Brewer.

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Last Saturday night we took possession of a Hill considerably advanced beyond our former Lines,<sup>27</sup> which brought on a very heavy cannonade from the Enemy on Bunkers Hill, and afterwards a Bombardment, which has since been kept up but with little Spirit on their side or Damage on ours. The Work having been continued ever since, is now so advanced and the Men so well covered as leave us under no Apprehensions of much farther Loss. In this Affair we had killed, one Adjutant,

26. Armstrong was elected brigadier general by Congress on September 21, but Frye was not commissioned until January, 1776.

27. Ploughed Hill, now known as Mount Benedict.

one Volunteer<sup>28</sup> and two Privates. The Scarcity of Ammunition does not admit of our availing ourselves of the Situation as we otherwise might do; but this I hope will soon be remedied as I have been informed of the arrival of a large Quantity at New York, some at New London and more hourly expected at different Places. I need not add to what I have said on this Subject, our late Supply was very seasonable, but far short of our necessities.

The late adjournment of the Honr. Congress having been made before my Letter of the 4th Instant was received I must now beg leave to recall their attention to those parts of it, which respect the Provision for the Winter, and the Reduction of the Troops: The double commissions under different Establishments and Col: Gridly's Appointment of Major General, in all which I hope to be honoured with their Commands, as soon as possible. The Advocate General has sent me a memorial respecting his Service, which I have the Honour to inclose No. 1 and from the variety and Multiplicity of Duty in a new Army, as well as his regular Service and attendance hitherto, I am induced to recommend him to the Notice of the Honourable Congress.

The Treatment of our Officers Prisoners at Boston, induced me to write to General Gage on that Subject, his answer and my reply I have the Honour to lay

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28. The volunteer was one Simpson. Wilkinson's *Memoirs of My Own Times* (vol. 1, p. 17) states that he was from Pennsylvania and that Washington and other officers visited him after he was wounded.

before the Congress in the Inclosures No. 2, 3 and 4 since which I have heard nothing from him.

I remain with the greatest respect and regard, etc.

### **To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Camp at Cambridge, September 2, 1775.

Sir: I am to acknowledge the Receipt of your Favor of the 21st. Ult. with the Inclosures; By my last Letter from Ticonderoga I expect a Quantity of Lead will be forwarded soon to your care from thence, I am glad there are such Prospects of a Supply of that Article, from the Mines in your Colony; I make no doubt they will receive such Encouragement both public and private, as their Importance and Value Demand.

By the Time you receive this Letter you will be able to judge with some Certainty, whether the Fleet which saild last from Boston was destined for your Coast; If it is not yet arrived we may conclude it has sail'd to the Eastward, if it has arrived the Issue will be known immediately; so that in either case,

the Continuance of the New raised Levies along the Coast is unnecessary; You will therefore on the Receipt of this be pleased to order them to March immediately to this Camp, directing the Commanding Officer at the same Time to give me 2 or 3 days Notice of the Time, in which the Troops will arrive, that suitable accomodations may be prepared.

Their Presence is the more necessary, as I may in Confidence inform you that I am about to detach 1000 or 1200 Men on an Expedition into Canada, by way of Kenebeck River,

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from which I have the greatest Reason to expect either that Quebec will fall into our Hands a very easy Prey, or such a Diversion made as will open a very easy passage to Genl. Schuyler.

We are now so well secured in our late Advanced Post on the Hill, that the Enemy have discontinued their Cannonade, the Men continue in good Health and Spirits. I am with much Regard etc.

### **To GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE**

Camp at Cambridge, September 6, 1775.

Sir: Your Favor of the 30th August and 2d Inst. are duly received; The Concurrence of the Committee in the Bermuda Voyage is very agreeable and I hope will prove a happy Earnest of its Success; Inclosed is a Letter to the Inhabitants of that Island of the tenor you have Suggested; but I shall depend upon Capt. Whipple's not making use of it, except in Case of real Necessity.

I am to acknowledge your kind assistance to Capt. Bayler in his late Errand, and must desire you to make known to Messrs. Clark & Nightingale, that i am very sensible of the Patriotic and disinterested Part they have acted on this Occasion.

As the Congress will depend on a Supply of Tow Cloth from your Colony, unless they are apprized to the Contrary, I apprehend it will be proper through your Deligates, to acquaint them, of the State in which you have found that Article, in order to guard against a Disappointment.

The Removal of the Stock from the Coast and Islands, will I hope have its Effect, in sending the Minesterial Plunderers empty home. We have yet no Accounts

of the last Fleet, except 6 who return'd from Louisburgh with Coal, a few Days ago.

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I need not mention to you the vast Importance of gaining Intelligence of the Enemy's Motions and Designs as early as possible; The great saving to the Continent both of Blood and Money; a Detection of our secret and most Dangerous Enemies, with innumerable other Advantages, would result from the Interception of their Correspondence at this Juncture; I have therefore thought Proper, to propose to you the Seizing the Mail by the next Packet; She is Hourly expected from England; her Force of Men and Guns inconsiderable; none but Swivels and only mann'd with 18 Men.

If the Vessel proposed to go to Bermuda should cruize for a few Days off Sandy Hook, I have no Doubt she would fall in with her; In which Case she might with little or no Delay land the Mail, in order to be forwarded to me and proceed on her Voyage; But if there are any material objections to this Mode, I am still so anxious upon the Subject, that I would have it tried with another Vessel at the Continental Expence and will for that end direct, that any charge which may accrue in this Service, shall be paid by the Paymaster here, upon being duly liquidated.

It will be necessary that some person well acquainted with the Packets

should be on Board our Vessel, or the Stopping in ward bound Vessels indiscriminately will give the Alarm and she may be apprised of her Danger; The choice of a proper Officer with the care of providing a suitable Vessel &c. I must leave to you. should it meet with the desired Success there can be no doubt the Honble. Continental Congress will distinguish and Reward the officer and men who shall have done so essential a Service; nor shall I fail in making known to them how much the Public Service is indebted to you for your Zeal and Activity on all occasions.<sup>44</sup> I am Sir &ca.

44. Captain Whipple accordingly cruised off New York for some days until he learned that the mail packet had safely reached that city, when he laid his course for Bermuda. Meanwhile Washington had heard that the powder in that island had been removed by Gage, and a vessel was sent to intercept Whipple's useless voyage but missed him.

**To THE INHABITANTS OF THE ISLAND OF BERMUDA**

Camp at Cambridge 3 Miles from Boston, September 6, 1775.

Gentn: In the great Conflict, which agitates this Continent, I cannot doubt but the Assertors of Freedom and the Rights of the Constitution, are possessed of your most favorable Regards and Wishes for Success. As Descendents of Freemen and Heirs with us of the same Glorious Inheritance, we flatter ourselves that tho' divided by our Situation, we are firmly united in Sentiment; the Cause of Virtue and Liberty is Confined to no Continent or Climate, it comprehends within its capacious Limits, the Wise and good, however dispersed and seperated in Space or distance. You need not be informed, that Violence and Rapacity of a tyrannick Ministry, have forced the Citizens of America, your Brother Colonists, into Arms; We equally detest and lament the Prevalence of those Councils, which have led to the Effusion of so much human Blood and left us no Alternative but a Civil War or a base Submission. The wise disposer of all Events has hitherto smiled upon our virtuous Efforts; Those Mercenary Troops, a few of whom lately boasted of Subjugating this vast Continent, have been check'd in their earliest Ravages and are now actually encircled in a small Space; their Arms disgraced, and Suffering

all the Calamities of a Siege. The Virtue, Spirit, and Union of the Provinces leave them nothing to fear, but the Want of Amunition, The applications of our Enemies to foreign States and their Vigilance upon our Coasts, are the only Efforts they have made against us with Success. Under those Circumstances, and with these Sentiments we have turned our Eyes to you Gentlemen for Re lief, We are informed there is a very large Magazine in your Island under a very feeble Guard; We would not wish to in volve you in an Opposition, in which from your Situation, we should be unable to support you:—We knew not therefore to what Extent to solicit your Assistance in availing ourselves of this Supply;—but if your Favor and Friendship to North America and its Liberties have not been misrepresented, I persuade myself you may, consistent with your own Safety, pro mote and further this Scheme, so as to give it the fairest prospect of Success. Be assured, that in this Case,

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the whole Power and Execution of my Influence will be made with the Honble. Continental Congress, that your Island may not only be Supplied with Provisions, but experience every other Mark of Affection and Friendship, which the grateful Citizens of a free Country can bestow on its Brethren and Benefactors. I am &c.43

43. There is no draft of this address to the Bermuda inhabitants in the *Washington Papers*. The copy of it there was made by George Taylor, jr., one of Varick's writers, in 1781. (See Washington's letter to Gov. Nicholas Cooke, August 4, 1775, *ante*.) Capt. Abraham Whipple, of Rhode Island, sailed for Bermuda. He arrived too late, as Gage had already removed the powder.

### **To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

Camp at Cambridge, September 7, 1775.

Sir: I do myself the Honor of Addressing you in Consequence of an Application from the Commissary General, who is by my directions, taking all proper Precautions on the Approach of Winter. I desired him to commit to Writing such Proposals as his Experience and Knowledge of the Country might intitle him to make, which he has done in the Paper which I have the Honor to inclose. The Difficulty of procuring a sufficient Quantity of Salt, which I objected to him, he has fully obviated by assuring me, that there is so much now actually in Store in this and the neighbouring Towns, as will remove all Possibility of a Disappointment.

I propose to do myself the Honor of Writing in a few Days fully and particularly on several Heads, to which I must now refer. In the mean Time I have only to inform the Honr. Congress, that I have received a small supply of 7000 lb. Powder this Week, from Rhode Island, and in a few clays expect 7 Tons of Lead and 500 Stand of Arms. A part of the same Importation, and to request that more Money may be forwarded with all Expedition; the Military Chest being nearly exhausted. I am with the greatest respect &ca.

**To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Camp at Cambridge, September 8, 1775.

Sir: Upon the receipt of this you will please to give directions, that all the New Levies march immediately to this Camp. By a Resolution of Congress the Troops on the Continental Establishment, were not to be employed for the Defence of the Coasts, or of any particular Province, the Militia being deemed competent to that Service. When I directed these Troops to remain in their own Province, I had some reason to expect a Remove from Boston to New York, in which case they would have been able to give them more speedy opposition, But as that Suspicion now appears groundless, there will be an Impropriety in continuing them where they now are, consistent with the above Resolve.

The Detachment which I mentioned in my last, will March in 2 Days and I shall have Occasion for the Troops from you to fill their Places; The Ministerial Expedition must I apprehend by this Time have come to some Issue, they are either returned with Disappointment, or have succeeded on their Errand; in either case the Men can be spared without danger to the Country; but should this not be the Case and they are still hovering on the Coast, it is to make no difference in their March; so that I shall at all events expect them here next Week, for which you will please to give the Necessary Orders. I am &c.

**To MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER**

Camp at Cambridge, September 8, 1775.

Dear Sir: I have received your Favour of the 31st August, and am much engaged in sending off the Detachment under Col. Arnold upon the Plan contained in mine of the 20th Ult. A Variety of Obstacles have retarded us since the Express returned with yours of the 27th Augt. from Albany; but we are now in such Forwardness that I expect they will set out by Sunday next at farthest. I shall take Care in my Instructions to Col; Arnold that in Case



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there should be a Junction of the Detachment with your Army, you shall have no Difficulty in adjusting the Scale of Command.

You seem so sensible of the absolute Necessity of preserving the Friendship of the Canadians, that I need say nothing on that Subject; but that a strict Discipline and punctual Payment for all Necessaries brought to your Camp will be the most certain Means of attaining so valuable and important an End. I shall inculcate the same Principle most strongly on our Troops who go from hence; as that on which their Safety, Success and Honour entirely depends. I am truly concerned that your Supplies and Appointments are so far short of your Expectations; but, I trust, you will have a feeble Enemy to contend with, and a whole Province on your Side, two Circumstances of great Weight in the Scale. Your Situation for some Time must be so critical and interesting, that, I hope, you will not fail giving me constant Information of your Motions and Success. Believe me with much Truth and Regard, etc.

### **\*To THE MAJOR AND BRIGADIER GENERALS<sup>47</sup>**

Camp at Cambridge, September 8, 1775.

Gentlemen: As I mean to call upon you in a day or two for your opinions upon a point of a very Interesting nature to the well being of the Continent in general, and this Colony in particular; I think it proper, indeed an incumbent duty on me previous to this meeting, to intimate to the end and design of it, that you may have time to consider the matter with that deliberation and attention which the Importance of it requires.

It is to know whether, in your judgment, we cannot make a successful attack upon the Troops in Boston, by means of Boats, cooperated by an attempt upon their Lines at Roxbury. The success of such an Enterprize depends, I well know, upon the all wise disposer of Events, and is not within the reach of human wisdom to foretell the Issue;

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but, if the prospect is fair, the undertaking is justifiable under the following, among other reasons which might be assigned.

The Season is now fast approaching when warm, and comfortable Barracks must be erected for the Security of the Troops, against the inclemency of the Winter; large and costly provision must be made in the article of Wood, for the Supply of the Army; and after all that can be done in this way, it is but too probable that Fences, Woods, Orchards,

47. Maj. Gens. Artemas Ward, Charles Lee, and Israel Putnam; Brig. Gens. John Thomas, Joseph Spencer, William Heath, John Sullivan, Nathanael Greene, and Horatio Gates.

and even Houses themselves, will fall Sacrifices to the want of Fuel, before the end of the Winter. A very considerable difficulty, if not expence, must accrue on acct. of Cloathing for the Men now engaged in the Service, and if they do not enlist again, this difficulty will be Increased to an almost insurmountable degree. Blankets I am inform'd are now much wanted, and not to be got, how then shall we be able to keep Soldiers to their duty, already impatient to get home, when they come to feel the Severity of Winter without proper Covering? If this Army should not Incline to engage for a longer term than the first of January, what then is to be the consequence, but that you must either be obliged to levy new Troops and thereby have two Sets (or partly so) in pay at the same time, or, by disbanding one set before you get the other, expose the Country to desolation, and the Cause perhaps to irretrievable Ruin. These things are not unknown to the Enemy, perhaps it is the very ground they are building on, if they are not waiting a reinforcement; and if they are waiting for succours, ought it not to give a Spur to the attempt? Our Powder (not much of which would be consumed in such an enterprize) without any certainty of Supply, is daily wasting. and to sum up the whole, in spite of every saving that can be made, the expence of supporting this

Army will so far exceed any Idea that was form'd in Congress of it, that I do not know what will be the consequences.

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These among many other reasons which might be assigned, induce me to wish a speedy finish of the dispute; but, to avoid these evils we are not to loose sight of the difficulties, the hazard, and the loss that may accompany the attempt, nor, what will be the probable consequences of a failure.

That every circumstance for and against this measure may be duely weighted, that there may be time for doing of it, and nothing of this Importance resolved on but after mature deliberation, I give this previous notice of the Intention of calling you together on Monday next, at Nine o'clock, at which time you are requested to attend at head Quarters. It is unnecessary I am perswaded, to recommend Secrecy, as the Success of the Enterprize, (if undertaken) must depend in a great measure upon the suddenness of the stroke. I am with the greatest esteem, etc.<sup>48</sup>

[MS.H.S.]

48. The council of war met (September 11) and decided against the attempt. Sir William Howe wrote to Governor Legge, of Nova Scotia (September 4) in explanation of the British inactivity: "The situation of the king's troops and that of the rebels is nearly the same as when I had the honor of writing you last. They are entrenched upon every advantageous spot, and we are so strongly posted here that we wish to tempt them to attack us, which if they do not shortly do, perhaps we may try our for tune against them; but we are so well prepared upon these heights [Charlestown] that it would be imprudent to attack them before we give up their coming to us."

### **To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

September 9, 1775.

Sir: Your favor of the 6th. Instant is now before me. Our State of Amunition disables us from availing ourselves of our present Stations as I would wish to do, and requires every Assistance that can be given it:—You will therefore on the receipt of this be pleased

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to forward whatever can be spared from the Necessities of the Colony, and the more Expedition you can use, the more acceptable it will be. I am Sir, etc.

### To GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE

September 18, 1775.

Sir: Your Favors of the 9th, 14th and 15 Insts. have been duly received; The Readiness of the Committee to cooperate with me in procuring the most authentic Intelligence and dispatching Capt. Whipple for this Purpose, is peculiarly satisfactory and I flatter myself will be attended, not only with Success, but the happiest Consequences to the Public Cause, I should immediately have sent you Notice of the Paragraph in the Philadelphia Papers, which is all the Acct. I have of the taking the Powder at

Bermudas; But I supposed it must have come to your Hands before it reached ours. I am inclin'd to think it Sufficient to suspend Capt. Whipple's Voyage at least till farther Intelligence is procured from Philadelphia, as it is scarce supposeable these Vessels would leave any Quantity behind worth the Risque and Expence of such a Voyage; As the Enterprize will therefore most Probably be laid aside for the present, it may be proper for Capt. Whipple to keep his Station a few days longer for the Packet; It must be remembered they generally have long Passages, and we are very sure she has not yet arrived at Boston, nor do I find she is expected there, the Voyage to Bayonne, is what I should approve and recommend; The Person sent to Governor Trumbull has not yet called on me; but the scheme appears so feasible, that I should be glad to see it executed.

At the same Time I must add that I am in some Doubt as to the Extent of my Powers to appropriate the Public Monies here to this Purpose. I could wish you would communicate it to the Congress, of which you will have sufficient Time and I make no Doubt of their Concurrence; In fact the State of our Treasury here is so low, that it would be impracticable to be of any Service to the Expedition, if

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all the objections were obviated. We have no News either in the Camp or from Boston, except a piece of Intelligence from the latter, that the Enemy are pulling down the South End of the Town in order to continue a Work across from River to River.

Your chearful concurrence with me in Public Measures and Zeal for the Service calls for my best thanks;—You will please to accept them, and believe me to be with much Truth and Esteem, etc.

P S No Southern Mail arriving last Saturday, we are apprehensive it has again fallen into the Enemy's Hands; If it was not attended with too much Trouble, should be glad you would cause Inquiry to be made; if by any Accident the Letters are at Providence you will please to forward them by Express.

### **To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

September 21, 1775.

It gives me real concern to observe yours of the 15th Inst.<sup>54</sup> that you should think it Necessary to distinguish between my Personal and Public Character and confine your Esteem to the former.

Upon a Reperusal of mine of the 8th Inst., I cannot think the construction you have made

54. Trumbull had written: “I am surprised that mine of the 5th instant was not received, or not judged worthy of Notice, as no mention is made of it. Stonington had been Attacked, and severely cannonaded, and by divine Providence marvelously protected. New London and Norwich are still menaced by the Ministerial Ships and Troops, that the militia cannot be thought sufficient for their security. That tis necessary to cast up some Entrenchments. We are obliged actually to raise more Men for their Security, and for the Towns of New Haven and Lyme. I hoped some of the new Levies might have been left here, till these dangers were over, without injury to any of your Operations. I own that must be left to

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your Judgment. Yet it would have given me pleasure to have been acquainted that you did consider it. I thank Divine Providence and you for this early warning to great care and watchfulness, that so the Union of the Colonies may be settled on a permanent and happy Basis...

"You may depend on our utmost Exertions for the defence and security of the Constitutional Rights and Liberty of the Colonies, and of our own in particular. None have shown greater forwardness, and thereby rendered themselves more the Object of Ministerial Vengeance. I am, with great Esteem and Regard for your personal Character," etc. The *Glasgow* and *Rose* were at Newport waiting, Trumbull thought, for the return of the *Swan* from Boston, when they would attack New London and Stonington: "All the Regiments in the Colony, at a great Expence have been extraordinarily disciplined, And one quarter of them, on the Sea Coasts are selected, equiped and held in readiness as Minute Men for every Emergency"

Trumbull's letter, dated Sept. 15, 1775, is in the *Washington Papers*.

on [ sic ] and unless it was, I should have hoped the Respect I really have, and which, I flattered myself, I had manifested to you, would have called for the most favorable, in the Disposition of the Continental Troops. I have long been sensible that it would be impossible to please, not Individuals merely, but particular Provinces, whose Partial Necessities would occasionally call for Assistance; I, therefore, thought myself happy, that the Congress had settled the Point, and apprehended I should stand excused to all, for acting in the Line which not only appeared to me to be that of Policy and Propriety, but of express and positive Duty; If, to the other Fatigues and Cares of my Station, that is to be added of giving Reasons for all Orders, and explaining the grounds and Principles on which they are formed; my Personal Trouble will perhaps, be of the least Concern, the Public will be most affected.

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You may be assured, Sir, nothing was intended that might be construed into Disrespect; and at so interesting a Period, nothing less ought to disturb the Harmony so Necessary for the happy success of our Public operations, the Omission of acknowledging in precise Terms, the Receipt of your Favor of the 5th Inst. was purely accidental.

The subject was not so new to me as to require long Consideration; I had occasion fully to deliberate upon it in Consequence of applications for Troops

from Cape Ann, Machias, New Hampshire, and Long Island, where the same Necessity was as strongly pleaded, and, in the two last Instances, the most peremptory Orders necessary, to prevent the Troops from being detained; I foresaw the same Difficulty here. I am by no Means insensible to the situation of the People on the Coast; I wish I could extend Protection to all; but the numerous Detachments, necessary to remedy the Evil, would amount to a Dissolution of the Army, or make the most important Operations of the Campaign depend upon the Piratical Expeditions of 2 or 3 Men of War and Transports.

The Spirit and Zeal of the Colony of Connecticut is unquestionable; and whatever may be the Hostile Intentions of the Men of War, I hope their utmost Efforts can do little more than alarm the Coast. I am, with great Esteem and Regard, for both your Personal and Public Character, sir, etc.<sup>55</sup>

55. In reply Governor Trumbull wrote (October 9): "I have no disposition to increase the weight of your burdens, which, in the multiplicity of your business, must be sufficiently heavy, nor inclination to disturb the harmony so necessary to the happy success of our public operations. I am persuaded no such difficulty will any more happen. It is unhappy, that jealousies should be excited, or disputes of any sort litigated, between any of the colonies, to disunite them at a time, when our liberty, our property, our all is at stake. If our enemies prevail, which our disunion may occasion, our jealousies will then appear frivolous, and all our disputed claims of no value to either side."

**To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

Camp at Cambridge, September 21, 1775.

Sir: I have been in daily expectation of being favored with the Commands of the Honorable Congress on the Subjects of my two last Letters. The Season advances so fast that I cannot any longer defer laying before them such farther measures as require their immediate attention and in which I wait their direction.

The mode in which the present Army has been collected, has occasioned some Difficulty in procuring the Subscription of both Officers and Soldiers to the Continental Articles of War. Their principal Objection has been, that it might subject them to longer Service than that for which they engaged under their several Provincial Establishments. It is in vain to attempt to reason away the Prejudices of a whole Army, often instill'd and in this Instance at least encouraged, by the Officers from private and narrow Views. I have therefore foreborn pressing them as I did not experience any such Inconvenience from their adherence to former Rules, as would warrant the Risque of entering into a Contest upon it: more especially as the restraints necessary for the Establishment of essential Discipline and Subordination, indisposed their Minds

to every change, and made it both Duty and Policy to introduce as little Novelty as possible. With the present Army I fear such a Subscription is impracticable: But the Difficulty will cease with this Army.<sup>56</sup>

The Connecticut and Rhode Island Troops stand engaged to the 1st. December only, and none longer than to the 1st. January. A Dissolution therefore, of the present Army will take place unless some early Provision is made against such an Event. Most of the General Officers are of Opinion the greater part of them may be re-inlisted for the Winter or another Campaign, with the Indulgence of a Furlough to visit their Friends, which, may be regulated so as not to endanger the Service. How far it may be proper to form the



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new Army entirely out of the Old for another Campaign, rather than from the Contingents of the several Provinces, is a Question which involves in it too many Considerations of Policy and Prudence for me to undertake to decide. It appears to be impossible to draw it from any other source than the Old Army this Winter; and as the Pay is ample, I hope a sufficient number will engage in the Service for that Time at least, but there are various Opinions of the Temper of the Men on the Subject, and there may be great Hazard in deferring the Tryal too long.

In the Continental Establishment no Provision has been made for the Pay of Artificers, distinct from

56. The temporary character of the army besieging Boston was a major difficulty with which Washington had to contend. The intention of bringing all new troops or reenlisted old soldiers under the Continental Articles of War is evident. These regulations are in the *Journals of the Continental Congress* of June 30, 1775.

that of common Soldiers; Whereas under the Provincial, such as found their own Tools were allowed 1/per Day advance and particular Artizans more. The Pay of the Artillery also now differs from that of the Province. The Men have less, the Officers more, and for some Ranks no Provision is made, as the Congress will please to observe by the list which I have the Honor to inclose. These particulars, tho' inconsiderable, are the source of much complaint and Dissatisfaction, which I endeavour to compose in the best manner I am able.

By the returns of the Rifle Companies and that Battalion, they appear to exceed their Establishment very considerably. I doubt my Authority to pay these extra men, without the directions of the Congress, but it would be deemed a great Hardship wholly to refuse them, as they have been encouraged to come.<sup>57</sup>

The necessities of the Troops having required Pay, I directed those of Massachusetts should receive a Months pay, on being mustered and returning a proper Roll, but a Claim

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was immediately made for Pay by Lunar Months, and several Regiments have declined taking up their Warrants on this Account.

As this Practice was entirely new to me, tho' said to be war ranted by former usage, the matter here now waits the Determination of the Hon. Congress.<sup>58</sup> I find in Connecticut and Rhode Island, this Point was settled by Callender Months, in Massachusetts tho' mentioned in Congress, it was left undetermined, which is also the case in New Hampshire.<sup>59</sup> The in closure No. 2

57. The Continental Congress resolved on June 14, the day before the appointment of the Commander in Chief, that 6 companies of expert riflemen should be raised in Pennsylvania, 2 in Maryland, and 2 in Virginia. On the 22d it was again resolved that 2 more companies should be raised in Pennsylvania and that the 8 together should make a battalion, to be commanded by such field officers, captains, and lieu tenants as should be recommended by the assembly or convention of the colony. The above 12 companies were all filled up with surprising celerity. One company arrived in Cambridge on July 25, and 8 others before August 14, so that within two months orders had gone out, the men had been enlisted and equipped, and the whole had marched from 400 to 700 miles to camp. Capt. Daniel Morgan, so much celebrated during the war, commanded one of these companies. He marched his men from Frederick County in Virginia, a distance of 600 miles, in three weeks. Congress had fixed the number of each company at 82. When they arrived at Cambridge the number considerably exceeded that limit, and the General doubted whether he was authorized to pay the supernumeraries. When the committee of Congress afterwards visited the camp, and this subject was referred to them, it was decided that they should all receive pay, but that the General should select from each company such as were not marksmen and dismiss them, with an allowance of pay to go home. These riflemen were enlisted for one year and were the first troops ordered to be raised by the Continental Congress. The Pennsylvania battalion was commanded by Col. William Thompson.— *Ford*.

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58. "Resolved, That when months are used, the Congress means calendar months, by which the pay of the men in the pay of the Continent are to be regulated."— *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Oct. 2, 1775.

59. See Sullivan's letter to the New Hampshire Committee of Safety (September 23) and the committee's reply (September 28) in Force's *American Archives*, Fourth Series, vol. 3, 79, 827.

is a Petition from the Subalterns, respecting their Pay. Where there are only two of them in a company, I have considered one as an Ensign and ordered him Pay as such, as in the Forces of Connecticut: I must beg leave to recommend this Petition to the Favor of the Congress, as I am of Opinion the allowance is inadequate to their rank and Service and is one great source of that Familiarity between the Officers and Men, which is incompatible with Subordination and Discipline.<sup>60</sup> Many valuable Officers of these ranks, finding themselves unable to support the character and appearance of Officers, I am informed will retire, as soon as the Term of Service is expired, if there is no Alteration.<sup>61</sup>

For the better regulation of Duty, I found it necessary to settle the rank of the Officers and to number the Regiments, and as I had not received the commands of the Congress upon the Subject, and the exigence of the Service forbade any farther Delay, the General Officers were considered as having no Regiments. An Alteration which I understand is not pleasing to some of them, but appeared to me and others to be proper, when it was considered, that by this means the whole Army is put upon one Footing and all particular Attachments dissolved.

Among many other Considerations, which the approach of Winter will demand, that of clothing appears to be one of the most important. So far as regards the Preservation of the Army from cold, they may be deemed in a state of nakedness. Many of the men have been without Blankets the whole campaign and those which have been in use during the Summer, are so much worn as to be

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60. "On entering the camp near Boston, I was struck with the familiarity which prevailed among the soldiers and officers of all ranks; from the colonel to the private, I observed but little distinction; and I could not refrain from remarking to a young gentleman with whom I made acquaintance, that the military discipline of their troops was not so conspicuous as the civil subordination of the community in which I lived."— *Memoirs of My Own Times* (Gert. James Wilkinson), vol. 1, p. 16.

"There is one reason, and I think a substantial one, why a person born in the same town or neighborhood, should not be employed on public affairs of this nature in that town or neighborhood; it is, that the spirit of equality which reigns through this country will make him afraid of exerting that authority necessary for the expediting his business; he must shake every man by the hand, and desire, beg, and pray, do brother, do my friend, do such a thing; whereas a few hearty damns from a person who did not care a damn for them, would have a much better effect."— *Stephen Moylan to Washington*, Oct. 24, 1775.

"Those ideas of equality, which are so agreeable to us natives of New England, are very disagreeable to many gentlemen in the colonies. They had a great opinion of the high importance of a continental general, and were determined to place him in an elevated point of light."— *John Adams to E. Gerry*, June 18, 1775.

61. "Congress must give better pay to their officers, for the present miserable pittance will not tempt men of liberal notions to engage in the service. It is indeed a fortune to the low wretches who live like the common soldiers and with the common soldiers; but men who chuse to preserve the decent distance of officers must have a decent subsistence, and without this distance, no authority or respect can be expected."— *Charles Lee to Benjamin Rush*, Oct. 10, 1775,

of little Service. In order to make a Suitable Provision in these Articles, and at the same time to guard the Public against Imposition and expence, it seems necessary to determine the mode of continuing the Army,—for should Troops be clothed under the present

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Engagement and at the Expiration of the Term of Service decline renewing it, a Sett of unprovided men may be sent to supply their Places.

I cannot suppose it unknown to the Hon. Congress, that in all Armies it is an established Custom to make an Allowance of Provisions according to their Rank; as such an Allowance formed no Part of the Continental Establishment, I have hitherto forborn, to issue the Orders for that purpose, but as it is the received Opinion of such Members of the Congress, as I have had, an Opportunity of consulting, as well as throughout the Army, that it must be deemed as a Matter of Course and implied in the Establishment of the Army, I have directed the following Proportion of Rations, being the same allowed in the American Armies last War, Vizt.

Rations, Major General 15, Brigadier General 12, Colonel 6, Lieutenant Colonel 5, Major 4, Captain 3, Subaltern 2, Staff 2.

If these should not be approved by the Hon: Congress they will be pleased to signify the Alterations they would have made in the whole or in Part.

I am now to inform the Hon: Congress, that encouraged by the repeated Declarations of the Canadians and Indians and urged by their requests; I have detached Colonel Arnold with 1000 men to penetrate into Canada by Way of Kennebeck River, and if possible to make himself Master of Quebec. By this manoeuvre, I propose either to divert Carlton from St. Johns, which would leave a free Passage to General Schuyler, or if this did not take Effect, Quebec in its present defenseless State must fall into our Hands an easy Prey. I made all possible Inquiry as to the Distance, the Safety of the Rout and the Danger of the Season being too far advanced, but found nothing in either to deter me from proceeding, more especially, as it met with very General Approbation from all whom I consulted upon it.

That nothing might be omitted, to enable me to judge of its Propriety and probable Consequences, I communicated it by Express to General Schuyler, who approved of it

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in such Terms, that I resolved to put it into immediate Execution. They have now left this Place 7 Days and if favoured with a good Wind, I hope soon to hear of their being safe in Kennebeck River.

For the Satisfaction of the Congress, I have inclosed a copy of the proposed rout No. 3.

I also do myself the Honor of inclosing a Manifesto, which I caused to be printed here and of which Colo: Arnold has taken a

suitable Quantity with him; This is the Inclosure No. 4. I have also forwarded a Copy of his Instructions No. 5 from all which I hope, the Congress will have a clear view of the Motives, Plan and intended Execution of the Enterprize, and that I shall be so happy as to meet with their approbation in it. I was the more induced to make this Detachment, as it is my clear Opinion, formed on a careful Observation of the Movements of the Enemy and corroborated by all the Intelligence we receive from the Deserters, some of whom we have every Day, that the Enemy have no Intention to come out until they are reinforced. They have been wholly employed for some time past, in procuring Materials for Barracks, Fuel and making other Preparations for Winter; these Circumstances with the Constant Additions to their Works, which are apparently defensive, have led me to the above Conclusion and enabled me to spare this Body of Men where I hope they will be use fully and successfully employed.

The State of Inactivity in which this Army has lain for some Time past, by no Means corresponds with my Wishes, by some decisive stroke to relieve my Country from the heavy Expences its subsistence must create.

After frequently reconnoitring the Situation of the Enemy in the Town of Boston, collecting all possible Intelligence and digesting the whole, a surprize did not appear impracticable though hazardous. I commu

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nicated it to the General Officers some Days before I called them to Council, that they might be prepared with their Opinions. The Result I have the Honor of sending in the inclosure No. 6. I cannot say that I have wholly laid it aside, but new Events may occasion New Measures. Of this I hope the Hon Congress can need no Assurance, that there is not a Man in America, who more earnestly Wishes such a Termination of the Campaign, as to make the Army no longer necessary.

The Season advances so fast, that I have given Orders to pre pare Barracks and other Accomodations for the Winter. The great Scarcity of Tow Cloth in this Country, I fear, will totally disappoint us in our expectations of procuring Hunting Shirts. Govr. Cooke informs me, few or none to be had in Rhode Island, and Govt. Trumbull gives me little Encouragement to expect many from Connecticut.

I have filled up the Office of Quarter Master General, which the Congress was pleased to leave to me to by the Appointment of Major Mifflin, which I hope and believe will be universally acceptable.

It gives me great Pain to be obliged to solicit the Attention of the Hon. Congress to the State of the Army, in Terms which imply the Slightest Apprehension of being neglected: But my Situation is inexpressibly distressing to see the Winter fast approaching upon a naked Army, The time of their Service within a few Weeks of expiring, and no Provision yet made for such important

Events. Added to this the Military Chest is totally exhausted. The Paymaster has not a single Dollar in Hand. The Commissary General assures me he has strained his Credit to the utmost for the Subsistence of the Army:—The Quarter Master General is precisely in the same situation, and the greater part of the Army in a State not far from mutiny, upon the Deduction from their stated Allowance.<sup>62</sup> I know not to whom to impute this Failure, but I am of opinion, if the Evil is not immediately remedied and more Punctuality observed in future, the Army must absolutely break up. I hoped I had ex pressed myself so fully

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on this Subject both by Letter and to those members of the Hon: Congress who have Honored the Camp with a Visit, that no Disappointment could possibly happen.

I therefore hourly expected Advices from the Pay Master, that he had received a fresh Supply in Addition to the 172,000 Dollars delivered him in August; And thought myself warranted to assure the Public Creditors, that in a few Days they should be satisfied, but the Delay has brought Matters to such a Crisis, as admits of no farther uncertain Expectation. I have therefore sent off this Express with orders to make all possible Dispatch. It is my most earnest request that he may be returned with all possible Expedition, unless the Honr. Congress have already forwarded what

62. "A commissary with twenty thousand gaping mouths open full upon him, and nothing to stop them with, must depend on being devoured himself...now, to his surprise finds a Paymaster, a Commissary, a Quarter-master, nominal nonentities; all of them not able to advance one shilling...not one of them, the General, or any other person here, have power to draw on Philadelphia...I must entreat you to exert yourself in this unhappy case, and to relieve me of the additional trouble, to the unavoidable ones of my office, of having my heart dunned out, and be for weeks unable to pay for a bushel of potatoes. I wish the accursed cause of this difficulty no worse punishment than to be put in my situation for ten days past."— *Joseph Trumbull to Eliphalet Dyer*, Sept. 23, 1775.

is so indispensibly necessary. I am with the most respectful regard &ca.63

### To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Camp Cambridge, September 30, 1775.

Sir: The Revd Mr. Kirkland the Bearer of this, having been introduced to the Honorable Congress, can need no particular Recommendation from me: But as he now wishes to have the Affairs of his Mission and public Employ, put upon some suitable Footing, I cannot but intimate my Sense of the Importance of his Station, and the great Advantages



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which have and may result to the United Colonies from his Situation being made respectable.

All Accounts agree that much of the favorable Disposition shewn by the Indians may be ascribed to his Labour and Influence. He has accompanied a Chief of the Oneidas to this Camp, which I have endeavoured to make agreeable to him both by Civility and some small Presents.

Mr. Kirkland being also in some Necessity for Money, to bear his traveling Charges and other Expences, I have supplied him with £32. Lawful Money. I cannot but congratulate the Honorable Congress on the happy Temper of the Canadians and Indians, our

63. This letter, in the writing of Joseph Reed, was read in Congress on September 29, and a committee of three, to repair to camp to confer with Washington, the Governor of Connecticut, the Lieutenant Governor of Rhode Island, the Council of Massachusetts, the President of New Hampshire, and such other persons as the committee thought proper, was appointed September 30. Thomas Lynch, Benjamin Franklin, and Benjamin Harrison were elected, and a committee of five—John Rutledge, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Johnson, Robert R. Livingston, and Samuel Adams—was appointed to draw up instructions for the committee of three. The committee reached camp on October 15.

Accounts of which are now fully confirmed by some intercepted Letters from Officers in Cannada to General Gage and others in Boston, which were found on Board the Vessel lately taken going into Boston with a Donation of Cattle and other fresh Provisions for the Ministerial Army. I have the Honor etc.<sup>79</sup>

### **To MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER**

Camp at Cambridge, October 4, 1775.

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Sir: Your Favour of the 20th Ult. came safely to Hand, and I should have dispatched the Express much sooner, but Colonel Arnold's Expedition is so connected with your Operation, that I thought it most proper to detain him 'till I could give you the fullest Account of his Progress. This Morning the Express I sent him returned, and the Inclosure No 1. is a Copy of his Letter to me. No 2. is a Copy also of a Paper sent me, being the Report of a reconnoitring Party sent out

79. In the writing of Joseph Reed. The letter was read in Congress on October 25.

some Time ago.<sup>11</sup> You will certainly hear from him soon as I have given him the strongest Injunctions on this Head. Inclosed No 3. I send you a Copy of his Instructions. No 4. is a Manifesto, of which I have sent a Number with him, to disperse through Canada. He is supplied with £1000 Lawful Money in Specie, to answer his contingent Charges.

About eighth Days ago a Brig from Quebec to Boston, was taken and brought into Cape Ann. By some intercepted Letters from Captain Gamble to General Gage and Major Sheriff, the Account of the Temper of the Canadians in the American Cause is fully confirmed. The Captain says, that if Quebec should be attacked before Carleton can throw himself into it, there will be a Surrender without firing a Shot. We most anxiously hope you will find sufficient Employ for Carleton, at St. Johns and its Neighbourhood. We at last have the Echo of Bunker Hill from England. The Number of killed and wounded by General Gage's Account nearly corresponds with

11. This party consisted of two persons, named Getchell and Berry, who set off from Fort Weston, on the Kennebec, September 1. They advanced as far as the headwaters of the Dead River, where they met several Indians, who gave them such exaggerated accounts of the enemy on the Chaudière that they did not venture to proceed farther. Netanis, the last of the Norridgewocks, had a cabin in this quarter, and was in the interest of Governor Carleton. The intelligence brought back by these persons in regard to the carrying places and condition of the river was of some service to Arnold.— *Ford*.

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what we had, vizt 1100. There does not seem the least Probability of a Change of Measures, or of Ministers.<sup>12</sup> General Gage is recalled from Boston and sails To-Morrow. His is succeeded by General Howe.<sup>13</sup> We have had no material Occurrences, since I had the Pleasure of writing you last. Our principal Employ for the present, is preparing for the Winter, as there seems to be no Probability of an Accommodation, or any such Decision as to make the present Army less necessary.<sup>14</sup>

I also send you a Copy of the Letter given Col. Arnold to be communicated to the Officers and Soldiers.

The accounts we have of your Health gives us great Concern, not only on your own Account, but that of the publick Service, which must suffer in Consequence. I shall most sincerely rejoice to hear of your perfect recovery; and now most fervently wishing you all possible Success, Honour and Safety, I am, etc.

12. The news of Bunker Hill was taken to England by the *Cerberus* and arrived in London on July 25— *Ford*.

13. Gage was recalled temporarily, as he supposed, “for consultation,” but it is probable that the frequent charges of incompetency made by Burgoyne, Howe, and Clinton were the real cause. He embarked on October 10 and arrived in London on November 14. Ford notes the *Diary and Letters of Thomas Hutchinson* (vol. 1, p. 364) to the effect that Lord Loudoun thought Gage had not courage sufficient for his position.

“The king having required General Gage's presence at home to consult him upon the present state of America, I am invested in his absence with the command of the forces in North America on this side of the Atlantic; General Carleton having the same powers within his government and in the back country, and would take the command of the whole were we to meet. Our two commissions are to command in chief in our respective districts,

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wherein I shall be happy to render you every service in my power.”— *Sir William Howe to Governor Legge*, Sept. 28, 1775.

14. Lord Dartmouth had early suggested to General Gage the importance of taking possession of Rhode Island as a means of keeping up a communication between Boston and New York City and as a place easy to be defended, and one from which, in any exigency, succor might be derived. He had also expressed an opinion that New York City should be occupied. General Gage replied: “As the King's forces are too weak to act in more than one point, New York is the most eligible situation to hold. The friends of government could rally there, and, from every account, numbers would join them. That city could be easily defended, and supplied by a water communication. But there is much difficulty in leaving Boston. It requires secrecy and is of great detail. It is too important a step to be put in execution without knowing his Majesty's pleasure. Preparations will however be made for it, not knowing but instructions to this effect may be given, in consequence of intimations in a former letter from me.”

Gage's views are fully shown in his letter to the Earl of Dartmouth in Force's *American Archives*, Fourth Series, vol. 3, 927.

Lord Dartmouth wrote again on September 5, before he could have received the above letter, and recommended to General Gage to abandon Boston, dismantle Castle William, and repair with the troops either to New York or to some other port to the southward, where the ships could lie in safety, and carry on operations securely during the winter. Many advantages, he thought, would result from such a change. This was answered by General Howe with arguments similar to those already advanced by General Gage, and his reasons for not complying with the recommendation of the minister were approved. Another plan in agitation was to divide the forces and endeavor to hold New York and Boston at the same time. General Howe discouraged this scheme, as in his opinion impracticable; and he said that Gage, Clinton, and Burgoyne agreed with him. Such a movement would require an additional force of not less than 5,000 men to be left in Boston

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and 12,000 at New York City, the latter to be employed in opening a communication with Canada, leaving five battalions for the defense of New York City. Three thousand regulars would then remain for Quebec, who, with 3000 or 4,000 Canadians and some hundreds of Indians, would compose the army of Canada; but he could not say whether such a force would be sufficient in that quarter. The primary object of a communication with Canada by the Hudson being thus accomplished and secured by posts, troops might take separate routes into Massachusetts and other parts of New England, as circumstances should point out. Ford also notes from Howe's letter to Dartmouth (October 9) that Sir William thought that Boston should be evacuated and the force designed for that place removed to Rhode Island. The project of penetrating the country could more easily be executed from that point than from Boston, where little else could be done than to defend the post. The possession of Rhode Island would, moreover, put Connecticut in jeopardy and induce that colony to keep its army at home for self-defense. Boston Harbor might be blockaded, after the evacuation, by a small naval force, aided by a land party intrenched in the neighborhood of Nantasket Road.

### **To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

Camp at Cambridge, October 5, 1775.

Sir: I was honored with your favor of the 26th Ult. late the Night before last, and a meeting of the General Officers having been call'd upon a Business, which will make a considerable part of this Letter, I took the Opportunity of laying before them those parts of yours, which respect the Continuance and new Modelling the Army; the Fuel, Clothing and other preparations for the ensuing Winter, they have taken two or three days to consider, and as soon as I am possessed of their Opinions, I shall loose no time in transmitting the result not only on the above Subjects, but the number of Troops necessary to be kept up.

I have also directed the Commissary General and the Quarter Master General to prepare estimates of the Expence of their Departments for a certain given number of Men,

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from which a judgement may be made, when the Number of Men to be kept in pay is determined; all which I shall do myself the Honor to lay before the Congress, as soon as they are ready. I have now a painful tho' a Necessary Duty to perform respecting Doctor Church, Director General of the

Hospital. About a Week ago Mr. Secretary of Providence sent up to me one Wainwood<sup>17</sup> an Inhabitant of New Port with a Letter directed to Majr. Cane in Boston, in Characters, which he said had been left with Wainwood some time ago, by a Woman who was kept by Doctor Church; she had before press'd Wainwood to take her to Captain Wallace,<sup>18</sup> Mr. Dudley the Collector or George Rome, which he declined; she then gave him the Letter with a Strict Charge to deliver it to either of those Gentlemen. He suspecting some improper Correspondence kept the Letter and after some time open'd it, but not being able to read it laid it up, where it remained until he received an obscure Letter from the Woman, expressing an Anxiety after the Original Letter, he then Communicated the whole Matter to Mr. Ward who sent him up with the papers to me; I immediately secured the Woman, but for a long time she was proof against every threat and perswasion to discover the Author, however at length she was brought to a confession and named Doctor Church. I then immediately

17. Godfrey Wainwood, or Wenwood, of Newport, R. I.

18. Capt. James Wallace, of H. M. S. *Rose*, stationed at Newport, R. I.

secured him and all his papers. Upon his first examination he readily acknowledged the Letter, said it was designed for his Brother Fleming and when decyphered wou'd be found to contain nothing Criminal.<sup>19</sup> He acknowledged his never having communicated the Correspondence to any person, here, but the Girl, and made many Protestations of the purity of his Intentions.<sup>20</sup> having found a person capable of decyphering the Letter, I in the mean time had all his Papers Searched but found nothing Criminal amongst them, but it appeared upon enquiry, that a Confident had been among the Papers before my

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Messenger arrived. I then called the General Officers together for their Advice, the result of which you will find in the Inclosure No. 1. the decyphered Letter is in the Inclosure No. 2. The Army and Country are exceedingly irritated, and upon a free discussion of the Nature, Circumstances and Consequences of this Matter, it has been unanimously agreed to lay it before the Hon Congress for their Special Advice and direction.

19. Doctor Church's cipher letter and its translation, which was worked out by Col. Elisha Porter, assisted by Elbridge Gerry, are in the *Washington Papers*.

20. Doctor Church, in an undated letter to Washington, attempted to explain that "notwithstanding the evident Tendency to propose immediate Terms of Accommodation... I can honestly appeal to Heaven for the purity of my Intentions." These he described as a desire to impress the British with the strength of the American forces and to obtain intelligence valuable to the Americans. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

At the same time suggesting to their consideration, Whether an alteration of the 28th Article of War may not be necessary.<sup>21</sup> As I shall reserve all farther remarks upon the State of the Army until my next, I shall now beg leave to request the determination of Congress as to the Property and disposal of such Vessels and Cargoes as are designed for the Supply of the Enemy and may fall into our Hands. there has been an event of this kind, at Portsmouth; as by the Inclosure No. 3,<sup>22</sup> in which I have directed the Cargo to be brought hither for the use of the Army, reserving the Settlement of any Claims of Capture to the decision of the Congress. As there are many unfortunate Individuals also, whose property has been Confiscated by the Enemy, I would humbly suggest to the Consideration of Congress, the humanity of applying in part, or in the whole such Captures to the relief of those Sufferers, after Compensating any Expence of the Captors and for their Activity and Spirit. I am the more induced to request this

21. By the twenty-eighth article of war, whoever was convicted of holding correspondence with the enemy, or of giving intelligence, was to suffer such punishment as should be

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ordered by a general court-martial. There was no provision for referring such cases to Congress or other civil authorities.— *Ford*.

By the alteration of November 7 the death penalty could be inflicted for these offenses.

22. The ship *Prince George*, which sailed from Bristol, England, July 19 with provisions for Gage's army.

determination may be speedy, as I have directed 3 Vessels to be equiped in order to cut off the Supplies, and from a Number of Vessels arriving, it may become an Object of some Importance. In the disposal of these Captures for the Encouragement of the Officers and Men, I have allowed them # of the Cargo, except Military Stores, which with the Vessels are to be reserved for the Public Use. I hope my Plan as well as the Execution will be favoured with the Approbation of Congress One Mr. Fisk an intelligent Person came out of Boston the 3d Instant and gives us the following Advices, that a Fleet consisting of a 64 and 20 Gun Ships, 2 Sloops of 18 Guns, Two Transports with 600 Men, were to sail from Boston as Yesterday; that they took on Board 2 Mortars, 4 Howitzers and other Artillery calculated for the Bombardment of a Town. Their Destination was kept a perfound Secret; That an Express Sloop of War which left England the 8th August, arrived 4 days ago. That General Gage is recalled and last Sunday resigned his command to General Howe. That Lord Piercy, Col: Smith and other

Officers who were at Lexington, are Ordered home with Gage.

That 6 Ships of the Line and 2 Cutters were comming out under Sr. Peter Dennis. That 5 Regiments and 1000 Marines are ordered out and may be expected in 3 or 4 Weeks.

No Prospect of Accommodation but the Ministry determined to push the War to the Utmost. I have an Express from Col: Arnold and herewith send a copy of his Letter and an Inclosure No 4 and 5.23 I am happy in finding he meets with no Discouragement. The Claim of the Riffle Officers to be Independant of all the Superior Officers except Colonel



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Arnold, is without any Countenance or Authority from me, as I have Signified in my last Dispatch both to Col: Arnold and Capt: Morgan. The Capt of the Brig from Quebec for Boston, informs me, that there is no Suspicion of any such Expedition and that if Carlton is not drove from St. Johns, so as to be Obligated to throw himself into Quebec, it must fall into our Hands, as it is left without a Regular Soldier and many of the Inhabitants most

23. Arnold's letter, dated Sept. 25, 1775, is in the *Washington Papers*, A copy is filed with Washington's in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*; also a copy of the inclosure, which was a report from Dennis Getchell and Samuel Berry.

favorably disposed to the American Cause. That there is the largest Stock of Ammunition ever Collected in America. In the above Vessel some Letters were also found from an Officer in Quebec to General Gage and Major Sheriff at Boston, containing such an Account of the Temper of the Canadians as cannot but afford the highest Satisfaction, I have thought it best to forward them, they are the Inclosures No. 7 and 8.<sup>24</sup> I am with the Greatest Respect and Regard, Sir, etc.

24. The letter is in the writing of Joseph Reed; the inclosures are in the *Washington Papers* and copies are in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

"No prospect yet of the militia being embodied here; nor do I think they will. General Carleton, I am apt to think, is afraid to give the order lest they should refuse to obey, and I believe this year will pass over without the Canadians doing anything in favor of government.... You must look for no diversion in favor the army immediately under your Excellency's command this year from Canada, the language here being only to defend the Province; and it's generally thought here that if the rebels were to push forward a body of four or five thousand men, the Canadians would lay down their arms, and not fire a shot."— *Thomas Gamble to General Gage*, Quebec, Sept. 6, 1775.

"Their minds [i.e. the Canadians] are all poisoned by emissaries from New England and the damned rascals of merchants here and at Montreal.... The Quebec bill is of no use; on

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the contrary the Canadians talk of that d—d abused word liberty.”— *Thomas Gamble to Major Sheriff*, Sept. 6, 1775.

General Gage wrote to Lord Dartmouth on August 20 that General Carleton did not find the Canadians so ready for war as he had hoped, and that some of the Indian tribes were backward. He said the minds of the Canadians had been poisoned by the enemy, but that a good force there would set them all in motion. He advised that General Carleton should be reinforced with 4,000 men, a supply of arms, military stores, and Indian goods.— *Ford*.

### **To MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER**

Camp at Cambridge, October 6, 1775.

Dear Sir: I wrote you Yesterday, of which the inclosed is a Copy, since which I have been informed, that your Illness has obliged you to quit the Army, and General Wooster as the oldest Brigadier will take Rank and Command of Mr Montgomery. General Wooster, I am informed, is not of such Activity as to press through Difficulties, with which that Service is environed. I am, therefore, much alarmed for Arnold, whose Expedition was built upon yours, and who will infallibly perish, if the Invasion and Entry into Canada are abandoned by your Successor.<sup>27</sup> I hope by this Time the Penetration into Canada by your Army is effected; but if it is not and there are any Intentions to lay it aside, I beg it may be done in such a Manner that Arnold may be saved by giving him Notice, and in the mean Time your Army to keep up such Appearances as may fix Carleton and prevent the Force of Canada being turned wholly upon Arnold.

27. Ford dates this letter October 5, but Washington's "Letter Book" dates it the 6th. Brig. Gen. David Wooster, because of length of military service, would, it was thought, have to rank Brig. Gen. Richard Montgomery on the Canadian expedition. Schuyler's method of handling the difficulty was an attempt to hold Wooster at Ticonderoga, N.Y., and forward his troops. The Connecticut soldiers refused to march without their commander,

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and Wooster settled the trouble by agreeing to take orders from Montgomery, who was considerably his junior.

He expected to be at Quebec in twenty Days from the 26th September; so that, I hope, you will have no Difficulty in regulating your Motions with Respect to him. Should this find you at Albany, and General Wooster about taking the Command, I intreat you to impress him strongly with the Importance and Necessity of proceeding, or so to conduct, that Arnold may have Time to retreat.

Nothing new has occurred since Yesterday deserving your Notice. Our next Accounts of your Health, I hope, will be more favourable. Ten Thousand good Wishes attend you from this Quarter. None more sincere and fervent than those of Dear Sir, etc.

### **To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

Camp at Cambridge, October 12, 1775.

Sir: I am honored with your several Favors of the 26th and 30th. Sepr. and 5th Oct. The contents of which I shall beg leave to notice in their respective order.

Previous to the Direction of the Congress, to consult the General Officers on the best Method of continuing and providing for the Army during the Winter, I had desired their thoughts upon these Subjects and to favor me with the result by a particular Day, in Writing. In this Interval the Appointment of Doctor Franklin, Mr. Lynch and Col. Harrison was communicated: An Event which has given me the highest Satisfaction, as the Subject was too Weighty and complex for a Discussion by Letter.<sup>30</sup> This Appointment made any conclusion here unnecessary, as it is not probable any such arrangement would be agreed on, as would not be altered in some respects, in a full and free conference.

This good Effect will arise from the step already taken, that every Officer will be prepared to give his

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30. Minutes of the proceedings of the committee, which sat from October 18 to 22, in the writing of Joseph Reed, are in the *Washington Papers*. The committee were Matthew Griswold and Nathaniel Wales, from Connecticut; Gov. Nicholas Cooke, from Rhode Island; Lynch, Franklin, and Harrison, as noted, from Congress; and James Bowdoin, James Otis, Walter Sever, and Walter Spooner, from Massachusetts. The organization of the Army, pay, clothing, arms, supplies, recruiting, and other matters were determined. The recommendations of the committee were confirmed, in part, by Congress. Force's *American Archives*, Fourth Series, vol. 3, 1155, prints the proceedings of the committee.

Sentiments on these weighty and important Subjects.

The Estimate of the Commissary and Quarter Master Generals I have now the Honor of inclosing. The first is the Inclosure No. 1, the other No. 2.

With Respect to the Reduction of the Pay of the men, which may enter into the consideration of their Support; it is the unanimous Opinion of the General Officers, that it cannot be touched with Safety at present.

I have procured an Account from Col. Thompson of the Expenditure of the 5000 Dollars which is inclosed No. 3.

Upon the presumption of there being a vacancy in the Direction of the Hospital, Lt. Col. Hand<sup>31</sup> formerly a Surgeon in the 18th Regt. or Royal Irish, and Dr. Foster<sup>32</sup> late of Charles Town and one of the Surgeons of the Hospital under Dr. Church are candidates. I do not pretend to be acquainted with their respective merits, and therefore have given them no farther Expectation than that they should be mentioned as Candidates for the Department. I therefore need only to add on this Subject, that the Affairs of

31. Lieut. Col. Edward Hand.

32. Dr. Isaac Foster.

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the Hospital require that the appointment should be made as soon as possible.

Before I was honored with your Favor of the 5th Instant, I had given Orders for the Equipment of some Armed Vessels to intercept the Enemy's Supplies of Provisions and Ammunition;<sup>33</sup> one of them was on a Cruize between Cape Ann and Cape Cod when the Express arrived. The others will be fitt for the Sea in a few Days, under the Command of Officers of the Continental Army, who are well recommend as Persons acquainted with the Sea, and capable of such Service. Two of them will be immediately dispatched on this Duty and every particular mentioned in your favor of the 5th instant literally complied with.<sup>34</sup>

That the Hon: Congress may have a more complete Idea of the Plan on which these Vessels are equiped I enclose a Copy of the Instructions given to the Captain now out (No. 4) These with the Additional directed, will be given to the Captains who proceed to the mouth of the River St. Lawrence; As both Officers and Men chearfully engage in the Service, on the Terms mentioned and these Instructions,

33. These vessels are usually known as Washington's Fleet. They did good service until the Continental Congress established a regular naval force.

34. Capts. Nicholson Broughton and John Selman, who “were ordered to the river St. Lawrence to intercept an ammunition vessel bound to Quebec, but missing her, they took ten other vessels and Gov. Wright of St. Johns, all of which were released, as we had waged a ministerial war and not one against our most gracious sovereign.”— *E. Gerry to John Adams*, Feb. 9, 1813.

I fear that the proposed Increase will create some Difficulty, by making a Difference between Men engaged in Similar Service. I have therefore not communicated this Part of the Plan, but reserved the extra Bounty as a reward for extraordinary Activity. There are no Armed Vessels in this Province an Govr. Cooke informs me the Enterprize can receive

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no Assistance from him, as one of the Armed Vessels of Rhode Island is on a long Cruize and the other unfit for the Service. Nothing shall be Omitted to secure Success; a fortunate Capture of an Ordinance Ship would give new Life to the Camp and an immediate turn to the Issue of this Campaign.

Our last Accounts from Col. Arnold are very favorable; he was proceeding with all Expedition, and I flatter myself, making all allowances, he will be at Quebec, the 20th instant, where a Gentleman from Canada (Mr. Price)<sup>35</sup> assures me he will meet with no Resistance.—

In the Quarter Master's estimate there are some Articles omitted, of which he informs me he cannot pretend to furnish a computation such as Carting, Tools &ca. for which some

35. James Price, a merchant of Montreal. When that place capitulated to General Montgomery, he wrote: "I have found Mr. Price so active and intelligent, and so warm a friend to the measures adopted by Congress, that I wish to have him mentioned in the strongest terms to Congress." He was appointed deputy commissary general of the army in Canada the spring following.

general allowance must be made.

From the various Accounts received from Europe there may be reason to expect, Troops will be Landed at New York or some other middle Colony. I should be glad to know the Pleasure of the Congress whether upon such an Event it would be expected that a part of this Army should be detached, or the internal Force of such Colony and its Neighbourhood be deemed sufficient, or whether in such case I am to wait the particular Direction of Congress.

The Fleet mentioned in my last has been seen standing N. N. E. so that we apprehend it is intended for some Part of this Province or New Hampshire, or possibly Quebec.

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The latest and best Accounts we have from the Enemy are, that they are engaged in their New Work across the South End of Boston. preparing their Barracks &ca. for Winter; That it is proposed to keep from 500 to 1000 Men on Bunker's Hill all Winter, who are to be relieved once a Week; The rest to be drawn into Boston.—

A Person who has lately been a Servant to Major Connolly a Tool of Lord Dunmore's, has given an Account of a Scheme to Distress the Southern Provinces, which appeared to me of Sufficient consequence to be immediately transmitted, I have therefore got it attested and do myself the Honor of inclosing it, No. 5.36

The new Levies from Connecticut have lately marched into Camp and are a Body of as good Troops as any we have. So that we have now the same Strength as before the Detachment made under Colonel Arnold. I am Sir &ca.37

36. Dr. John Connolly. The information is in the form of a deposition from Connolly's servant, William Cowley, to the effect that Connolly was to stir up the western Indians against the Colonies and descend upon Fort Pitt from Detroit.

37. This letter is in the writing of Joseph Reed. All the inclosures are with it in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

### **To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

Camp Cambridge, October 24, 1775.

Sir: My conjecture of the Destination of the late Squadron from Boston in my last, has been unhappily verified, by an outrage exceeding in Barbarity and cruelty every hostile Act practiced among civilized nations; I have inclosed the Account given me by Mr. Jones<sup>49</sup> a Gentleman of the Town of Falmouth of the Destruction of that flourishing Village. He is a very great sufferer and informs me that the Time allowed for the removal of Effects was so small, that valuable Property of all kinds and to a great amount has been destroyed.

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The Orders shewn by the Captain for this horred proceedure, by which it appears the same desolation is meditated upon all the Towns on the Coast, made it my Duty to communicate it as quickly and extensively as possible. As Portsmouth was the next place to which he proposed to go, General Sullivan was permitted to go up and give them his Assistance and advice to ward off the Blow. I flatter myself the like Event will not happen there, as they have

49. Pearson Jones. His account of the destruction of Falmouth is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*. Washington forwarded copies of it to Governors Cooke and Trumbull on October 24. Williamson's *History of Maine* (vol. 2, pp. 422–434) has a detailed account of the burning of Falmouth, and Ford points out the curious entry in the *Diary and Letters of Thomas Hutchinson* (vol. 1, p. 583): “It is generally believed that Falmouth in Casco Bay, is burnt by Capt. Mowat, and 2 or 3 more ships. The last time I saw Lord G[eorge] G[ermain], he observed that Adm. Graves had been put in mind of his remissness: and he imagined he would run to the other extreme.”

a Fortification of some strength and a Vessel has arrived at a place called Sheepscott with 1500 lb of Powder.

The Gentlemen of the Congress have nearly finished their Business, but as they write by this Opportunity, I must beg leave to refer you to their Letters for what concerns their Commission.

We have had no Occurrence of any Consequence in the Camp, since I had the Honor of Addressing you last. I am &ca.

**To MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER**

Camp at Cambridge, October 26, 1775.



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Dear Sir: Your several Favors of the 12th. and 14th. Inst. came safely to Hand, though not in the proper Order of Time, with their several Inclosures. You do me Justice in believing that I feel the utmost Anxiety for your Situation, that I sympathize with you in all your Distresses, and shall most heartily share in the Joy of your Success.<sup>51</sup> My Anxiety extends itself to poor Arnold, whose Fate depends upon the Issue of your Campaign. Besides your other Difficulties, I fear, you have those of the Season added, which will

51. Schuyler's letters of October 12 and 14 deal with his lack of powder and salt, his health, and other troubles. On September 26 he had written from Ticonderoga, N.Y.: "The vexation of spirit under which I labor, that a barbarous complication of disorders should prevent me from reaping those laurels for which I have unweariedly wrought since I was honored with this command; the anxiety I have suffered since my arrival here, lest the army should starve, occasioned by a scandalous want of subordination and inattention to my orders in some of the officers, that I left to command at the different posts; the vast variety of vexatious incidents, that almost every hour arise in some department or other; not only retard my cure, but have put me considerably back for some days past. If Job had been a general in my situation, his memory had not been so famous for patience. But the glorious end we have in view, and which I have a confident hope will be attained, will atone for all." The letters of October 12 and 14 are in the *Washington Papers*.

increase every Day. In the Article of Powder, we are in Danger of suffering equally with you. Our Distresses on this Subject are mutual; but, we hope, they are short-lived, as every Measure of Relief has been pursued which human Invention could suggest. When you write General Montgomery, be pleased to convey my best Wishes and Regards to him. It has been equally unfortunate for our Country and yourself, that your ill-Health has deprived the active Part of your Army of your Presence. God Almighty restore you and crown you with Happiness and Success.

Colonel Allen's<sup>52</sup> Misfortune will, I hope, teach a Lesson of Prudence and Subordination to others, who may be too ambitious to outshine their General Officers, and regardless

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of Order and Duty, rush into Enterprizes, which have unfavorable Effects to the Publick, and are destructive to themselves. Dr. Franklin, Mr. Lynch, and Col. Harrison Delegates from the Congress, have been in the Camp for several Days, in Order to settle the Plan of continuing and supporting

52. When a convention of the several townships of the New Hampshire Grants met at Dorset, on July 26, 1775, to elect field and other officers, Ethan Allen expected to obtain the chief command, but, to his great chagrin, was defeated by Seth Warner, of Bennington, the vote in the convention being 41 to 5. Allen then joined General Schuyler, without holding a commission, and raising a company of Canadians, crossed the St. Lawrence with a small party below Montreal, where he was defeated and taken prisoner, after maintaining for some time, and with great courage, a very unequal conflict. He was put in irons and sent to Quebec, and thence to England, where he arrived December 23. After being a prisoner for nearly three years, transported from place to place, he was exchanged. He published (1779) a narrative of the events of his capture and imprisonment.— *Ford*.

the Army. This Commission extended to your Department; but upon Consideration, it appeared so difficult to form any rational Plans that nothing was done upon that Head. If your Time and Health will admit I should think it highly proper to turn your Thoughts to this Subject, and communicate the Result to the Congress, as early as possible. We have had no Event of any Consequence in our Camp for some Time, our whole Attention being taken up with Preparations for the Winter, and forming the new Army, in which many Difficulties occur. The Enemy expect considerable Reinforcements this Winter and from all Accounts are garrisoning Gibraltar and other Places with foreign Troops, in order to bring the former Garrisons to America. The Ministry have begun the Destruction of our Sea Port Towns, by burning a flourishing Town of about 300 Houses to the Eastward, called Falmouth. This they Effected with every Circumstance of Cruelty and Barbarity, which Revenge

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and Malice could suggest. We expect every Moment to hear other Places have been attempted and have been better prepared for their Reception.

The more I reflect upon the Importance of your Expedition, the greater is my Concern, least it should sink under insuperable Difficulties. I look upon the Interests and Salvation of our bleeding Country in a great Degree to depend upon your Success. I know you feel it's Importance as connected not only with your own Honour and Happiness; but the publick Welfare, so that you can want no Incitements to press on, if it be possible. My anxiety suggests some Doubts, which your better Acquaintance with the Country will enable you to remove. Would it not have been practicable to pass St John's, leaving Force enough for a Blockade; or if you could not spare the Men, passing it wholly, possessing yourselves of Montreal, and the surrounding Country? Would not St. John's have fallen of Course or what would have been the probable Consequence?

Believe me, dear General, I do not mean to imply the smallest Doubt of the Propriety of your Operations, or of those of Mr. Montgomery, for whom I have a great Respect.—I too well know the absurdity of judging upon a military Operation, when you are without the Knowledge of it's concomitant Circumstances. I only mean it as a matter of Curiosity, and to suggest to you my imperfect Idea on the subject. I am with the utmost truth and Regard, etc.

### **To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

Camp at Cambridge, October 30, 1775.

Sir: The Information, which the Gentlemen, who have lately gone from hence, can give the Congress of the State and Situation of the Army, would have made a Letter unnecessary, If I did not suppose, there would be some Anxiety to know the Intentions of the Army, on the Subject of their Reenlistment.

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Agreeable to the Advice of those Gentlemen, and my own Opinion, I immediately began by directing all such Officers, as proposed to continue to signify their Intentions, as soon as possible: a great number of the returns are come in, from which I find, that a very great Proportion of Officers of the Rank of Captains and under, will retire from present appearances I may say half, but at least one third. It is with some concern also, that I observe that many of the Officers, who retire, discourage the continuance of the Men, and I fear will communicate the Infection to them. Some have advised, that those Officers, who decline the Service, should be immediately dismissed: but this would be very dangerous and inconvenient. I confess, I have great Anxieties upon the Subject, tho' I still hope the Pay and Terms are so advantageous, that Interest, and I hope also, a regard to their country, will retain a greater Proportion of the Privates, than their Officers. In so important a matter, I shall esteem it my indispensable Duty, not only to act with all possible Prudence, but to give the most early and constant Advice of my Progress.<sup>65</sup>

A Supply of Clothing, equal to our necessities, would greatly contribute to the Encouragment and Satisfaction of the Men: In every Point of View it is so important, that I beg leave, to call the Attention of the Congress to it, in a particular manner.

A Serjeant has just come in from Bunker's Hill, but brings no important News. I have the Honor to be etc.

65. "I am happy to inform you that Congress has agreed to every recommendation of the Committee, and have gone beyond it, in allowing the additional pay to the officers. I rejoice at this, but cannot think with patience that pitiful wretches, who stood cavilling with you when entreated to serve the next campaign, should reap the benefit of this addition. They will now be ready enough, but hope you will be able to refuse them with the contempt they deserve, and to find better in their room. Could not some of the gentlemen at camp enlist the New England men who have been persuaded to leave you? Frazier told me he could. It would be a capital point to convince the world that it is not necessary to have bad

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officers of that country, in order to raise men there. I can scarce bear their tyranny.”—  
*Lynch to Washington*, Nov. 13, 1775. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

### **\*To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

Camp at Cambridge, November 2, 1775.

Sir: I could not suffer Mr. Randolph<sup>66</sup> to quit this Camp without bearing some testimony of my duty to the Congress, although his sudden departure (occasioned by the death of his worthy relative, whose loss as a good Citizen, and valuable Member of Society is much to be regretted) does not allow me time to be particular.

The Inclosed return<sup>67</sup> shews at one view what reliance we have upon the Officers of this Army, and how difficient we are like to be in Subaltern Officers; a few days more will enable me to inform the Congress of what they have to expect from the Soldiery, as I shall Issue recruiting Orders for this purpose as soon as the Officers are appointed, which will be done this day, having sent for the Genl. Officers to consult them in the Choice.

I must beg leave to recall the attention of the Congress to the Appointment of a Brigadier General, an Officer as necessary to a Brigade as a Colonel is to a Regiment, and will be exceedingly wanted in the new Arrangement.<sup>68</sup>

The Proclamation's and Association<sup>69</sup> herewith Inclosed, came to my hands on Monday last. I thought it my duty to send them to you. Nothing of moment has happened since my last. With respectful Compliments to the Members of Congress I have the honour to be etc.<sup>70</sup>

66. Edmund Randolph, an aide-de-camp to Washington. He had been compelled to return to Virginia on account of the death of his uncle, Peyton Randolph, President of the First Continental Congress, who died suddenly at Philadelphia on October 22.

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67. This return, dated Nov. 1, 1775, is in the "Continental Army Returns," vol. 99, part I. These returns were removed from the *Washington Papers* by Col. Frederick C. Ainsworth and are now in the custody of The Adjutant General, War Department, Washington, D.C.

68. Washington's letter was read in Congress November 13, and the election of a brigadier general was appointed for November 23. The *Journals of the Continental Congress*, however, contain no mention of any action taken until January, 1776, when Joseph Frye was chosen for the army in Massachusetts, and Benedict Arnold for the army in the Northern Department.

69. Proclamations issued by General Howe on October 28. The first, prohibiting any person from leaving Boston, recites: "I do, by virtue of the power and authority vested in me by his Majesty, forbid any person or persons whatever, not belonging to the navy, to pass from hence by water or otherwise without my order or permission given in writing. Any person or persons detected in the attempt, or who may be retaken upon sufficient proof thereof, shall be liable to military execution, and those who escape shall be treated as traitors by seizure of their goods and effects." The second proclamation prohibited from carrying more than £5 in specie away from the city. The association was for embodying the citizens to defend the town. (See *Remembrancer*, vol. 2, p. 191; *Boston Gazette*, Nov. 6, 1775. Washington also inclosed in his letter the royal proclamation of Aug. 23, 1775, "for Suppressing Rebellion and Sedition," a broadside of which is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

70. The original of this letter, in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, is in Washington's handwriting and varies in a few minor details from the text of the Varick Transcripts in the Library of Congress, which was used by Sparks.

### **To MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER**

Cambridge, November 5, 1775.

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Dear Sir: Your Favor of the 26th Ultio. with the Inclosures, containing an Acct. of the Surrender of Fort Chamblee was an excellent Repast, but somewhat incomplete for Want of Montgomery's Letter, which (a Copy) you omitted to inclose. On the Success of your Enterprize so far, I congratulate you, as the Acquisition of Canada is of unmeasureable Importance to the Cause we are engaged in. No Acct. of Arnold since my last. I am exceeding anxious to hear from him; but flatter myself that all goes well with him, as he was expressly ordered in Case of any discouraging Event to advertize me of it immediately.<sup>77</sup> I much approve your Conduct in Regard to Wooster. My Fears are at an End, as he acts in a subordinate Character. Intimate this to General Montgomery, with my Congratulations on his Success, the seasonable Supply of Powder, and wishes that his next Letter may be dated from Montreal. We laugh at his Idea of classing the royal Fuzileers with the Stores. Does he consider them as Inanimates, or as a Treasure? If you carry your Arms to Montreal, should not the Garrisons of Niagara, Detroit &c. be called upon to surrender, or threaten'd with the Consequences of a Refusal? They may indeed destroy their Stores, and if the Indians are aiding, escape to Fort Chartres; but it is not very probable.

The inclosed Gazette exhibits sundry Specimens of the Skill of the new Commander in issuing Proclamations, and a Proof in the Destruction of Falmouth, of the barbarous Designs of an infernal Ministry. Nothing new hath happened in this Camp. Finding the ministerial Troops resolved

77. The situation of affairs in Canada at this time may be understood by the following extract from a letter, dated at Montreal, October 19, and written by Brook Watson, an eminent merchant of that city, to Governor Franklin, of New Jersey. The letter was intercepted by General Montgomery and forwarded by him to General Schuyler:

"Such is the wretched state of this unhappy province," says the writer, "that Colonel Allen, with a few despicable wretches, would have taken this city on the 25th ultimo, had not its inhabitants marched out to give them battle. They fought, conquered, and thereby

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saved the province for a while. Allen and his banditti were mostly taken prisoners. He is now in chains on board the Gaspee. This little action has changed the face of things. The Canadians before were nine tenths for the Bostonians. They are now returned to their duty; many in arms for the King and the parishes, who had been otherwise, and daily demanding their pardon and taking arms for the crown.” This Mr. Watson went over to England in the same vessel in which Allen and his associates were transported as prisoners and in irons. Allen's wrists and ankles were heavily manacled. In his narrative he speaks of having received much ill treatment from Watson during the voyage. Watson was afterwards Lord Mayor of London.— *Sparks*.

to keep themselves close within their Lines, and that it was adjudged impracticable to get at them, I have fitted out six armed Vessels, with Design to pick up some of their Store Ships and Transports. The Rest of our Men are busily employed in erecting of Barracks &c I hope, as you have said nothing of the State of your Health, that it is much amended, and that the cold Weather will restore it perfectly. That it may do so, and you enjoy the Fruit of your Summers Labour and Fatigue, is the sincere wish of, Dear Sir, etc. Generals Lee and Mifflin are well: Colonel Reed gone to Philadelphia.

### **\*To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

Cambridge, November 8, 1775.

Sir: The immediate occasion of my giving Congress the trouble of a Letter at this time, is to inform them, that in consequence of their order signified in your Letter of the 20 Ultō., I laid myself under a solemn tye of secrecy to Captn. McPherson,<sup>83</sup> and proceeded to examine his Plan for the destruction of the Fleet in the Harbour of Boston, with all that care and attention which the Importance of it deserved, and my Judgement could lead to: but not being happy enough to coincide in Opinion with that Gentleman, and finding that his Scheme would Involve greater expence, than (under my Doubts of its success), I thought myself justified in giving into, I prevaild upon him to communicate his plan to three



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Gentlemen of the Artillery (in this Army) well acquainted in the knowledge, and practice of gunnery; by them he has been convinced, that in as much as he set out upon wrong principles, the Scheme would prove abortive. unwilling however to relinquish his favourite project of reducing the Naval force of Great Britain, he is very desirous of

83. Capt. John Macpherson submitted his plan to Congress on October 16, and on October 19 it was forwarded to Washington. Like Josiah Quincy's scheme, it was impracticable under the then circumstances, and along with other suggestions resulted only in disappointment to the originators, which probably had some effect in preparing certain minds in Congress for receptivity of criticism of the Commander in Chief. (See Washington's letter to Josiah Quincy, Nov. 4, 1775, *ante*.)

building a number of Row-Gallies for this purpose; but as the Congress alone are competent to the adoption of this measure, I have advised him (altho' he offered to go on with the building of them at his own expence 'till the Congress should decide) to repair immediately to Philadelphia with his proposals; where, if they should be agreed to, or Vessels of Superior force, agreeable to the Wishes of most others, should be resolved on, he might set instantly about them, with all the materials upon the Spot; here they are to collect; to him therefore I refer for further information on this Head.

A Vessel said to be from Philadelphia, and bound to Boston with 120 Pipes of Wine (118 of which are securd) stranded at a place calld Eastham, in a Gale of Wind on the 2d. Inst; another from Boston Hallifax with dry Goods &ca. (amounting pr. Invoice to about 240£ lawful) got disabled in the same Gale, near Beverly. These Cargoe's, with the Papers, I have orderd to this place, the Vessells to be taken care of 'till further Orders. I have also an Acct. of the taking of a Wood Sloop bound to Boston, and carried into Portsmouth, by one of our Armed Vessels; particulars not yet come to hand, and this Instant of two others from Nova Scotia to Boston, with Hay, Wood, live Stock &ca. by another of our Armd Schooners, these are in Plymouth.

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These Accidents and Captures point out the necessity of establishing proper Courts without loss of time for the decision of Property and the legality of Seizures: otherwise I may be Involved in inextricable difficulties.

Our Prisoners, by the reduction of Fort Chamblee (on which happy Event, I most sincerely congratulate the Congress) being considerably Augmented and likely to be Increased, I submit it to the Wisdom of Congress, whether some convenient Inland Towns, remote from the Post Roads, ought not to be Assign'd them; the manner of their treatment, Subsistence &c defin'd, and a Commissary, or Agent appointed to see that

Justice is done both to them and the Publick, proper Accts. render'd &c; without a mode of this sort is adopted, I fear there will be sad confusion hereafter, as there are great Complaints at present.<sup>84</sup>

I reckon'd without my Host, when I inform'd the Congress in my last, that I should in a day or two, be able to acquaint them of the disposition of the Soldiery towards a new Enlistment. I have been in consultation with the Generals of this Army, ever since thursday last, endeavouring to establish New Corps of Officers, but find so many doubts and difficulties to reconcile, I cannot say when they are to end, or what may be the consequences, as 'there appears to be such an unwillingness in the Officers of one Government mixing in the same Regiment with those of another; and without it, many must be dismissed, who are willing to serve, notwithstanding we are deficient in the whole. I am to have another meeting to day, upon this business and shall inform you of the Result.

The Council of Officers are unanimously of opinion, That the Command of the Artillery should no longer continue in Col: Gridley,<sup>85</sup> and knowing of no person better qualified to supply his place, or whose Appointment will give more general satisfaction, have taken the liberty of recommending Henry Knox, Esqr to the consideration of the Congress. Thinking it indispensably necessary, at the same time, that this Regiment should consist of two

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Lieutt. Colos, two Majors, and twelve companies, agreeable to the Plan and estimate handed in, which differing from the last establishment, I should be glad to be Instructed on.

The Comy. Genl. not being returnd, will appologize I hope for my silence respecting a requisition of the Expençe of his Clerks &ca. which I was to have Obtaind, together with others and forward.

I have heard nothing of Colo. Arnold since the 13th Ultò. His Letter of and journal to that date, will convey all the Information I am able to give of him. I think he must be in Quebec. If any mischance had happened to him, he would, as directed, have forwarded an

84. On November 25 Congress decided to recommend to the various Colonies the establishment of courts, or enlarging the powers of those already in existence, to take care of these sea captures. There is no mention in the *Journals of the Continental Congress* of a decision regarding the prisoners until November 17, when Reading, Lancaster, and York, in Pennsylvania, were designated as places to which to send prisoners taken in Canada.

85. Col. Richard Gridley had been appointed by the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts (April 26), chief engineer in the army then beginning to be organized, with a salary of £170 a year while in service; and after the army should be disbanded, he was to receive annually £ 123 for life. (See *Manuscript Journals of Provincial Congress*.) The same provision of a life annuity was extended to the assistant engineer. On September 20 Colonel Gridley was commissioned to take command of the artillery of the Continental Army but was superseded by Colonel Knox in November. His advanced age was assigned by Congress as a reason for superseding him. At the Battle of Bunker Hill he fought with conspicuous bravery in the entrenchments, which he had planned under Prescott, and in which he was wounded. Colonel Gridley was a soldier of long experience, having served in the two last wars, and been present at the taking' of Louisburg, and in Wolfe's battle on the Plains of Abraham. (See Swett's *Sketch of the Bunker Hill Battle*, pp. 11, 44, 54.) Before

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the Revolution he received half pay as a British officer. When Colonel Knox was appointed to his place in the artillery (November 17) Congress voted to indemnify him for any loss of half pay which he might sustain in consequence of having been in the service of the United Colonies.— *Sparks*.

Express.

No Acct. yet of the Armd Vessels sent to St. Lawrence. I think they will meet with the Stores Inward or outward bound.

Captn. Symons in the Cerberus lately sent from Boston to Falmouth, hath publish'd the Inclose'd Declaration<sup>86</sup> at that place, and it is suspected intends to make some kind of a lodgement there. I wrote immediately to a Colo. Finnie (of this Army) who went up there upon the last Alarm, to Spirit up the People, and oppose it at all Events. Falmouth is abt. 130 Miles from this Camp. I have the Honor etc.

P.S. I send a Genl. return of the Troops and manifest of the Cargo's and Vessels taken at Plymouth.

### **To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

Cambridge, November 11, 1775.

Sir: I had the Honor to address my self to you the 8th. instant by Captain Macpherson, since which I have an Account of a Schooner laden chiefly with firewood, being brought into Marblehead, by the Armed Schooner Lee, Capt. Manly.<sup>94</sup>

She had on board the Master, a Midshipman, two Marines and four Sailors from the Cerberus Man of War, who had made prize of this Schooner a few Days before and was sending her into Boston.

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Inclosed you have a copy of an Act passed this Session by the Honr. Council and House of Representatives this Province.<sup>95</sup> It respects such captures as may be made by vessels fitted out by the Province or by Individuals thereof. As the Armed Vessels fitted at the Continental expence, do not come under this Law, I would have it submitted to the consideration of Congress, to point out a more summary way of proceeding, to determine the property and mode of condemnation of such prizes as have been or hereafter may be made, than is specified in this Act. Should not a Court be established by Authority of Congress, to take cognizance of the Prizes made by the Continental Vessels? Whatever the mode is which they are

86. "Captain John Symons, commander of his Majesty's ship Cerberus, causeth it to be signified and made known to all persons whatever, in the town of Falmouth as well as the country adjacent; that, if after this public notice, any violences shall be offered to any officers of the crown, or other peaceably disposed subjects of his Majesty; or, if any bodies of men shall be raised and armed in the said town and country adjacent; or any military works erected, otherwise than by order of his Majesty, or those acting under his authority; or if any attempts shall be made to seize or destroy any public magazines of arms; ammunition, or other stores, it will be indispensably my duty to proceed with the most vigorous efforts against the said town, as in open rebellion against the King; and if after this signification the town shall persist in the rebellious acts above mentioned, they may depend on my proceeding accordingly." A copy of this declaration is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

94. Capt. John Manley.

95. Sparks states that this act was the first passed by any of the Colonies for fitting out letters of marque and reprisal and for establishing a court to try and condemn prizes. He refers to Austin's *Life of Elbridge Gerry* (vol. 1, pp. 92, 505), also to the *Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts* (vol. 5, PP. 436, 515).

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pleased to adopt, there is an absolute necessity of its being speedily determined on, for I cannot spare Time from Military Affairs, to give proper attention to these matters. The Inhabitants of Plymouth have taken a Sloop laden with Provision &ca. from Hallifax bound to Boston, and the Inhabitants of Beverly have under cover of one of the Armed Schooners taken a Vessel from Ireland laden with Beef, Pork, Butter &ca for the same place. The latter brings Papers and Letters of a very Interesting nature, which are into the Hands of the Honr. Council who informed me, they will transmit them to you by this Conveyance, to the Contents of these Papers and Letters I must beg leave to refer you and the Honr. Congress, who will now see the absolute necessity there is, of exerting all their Wisdom to withstand the mighty efforts of our Enemies. The trouble in the Arrangement of the Army, is really Inconceivable, many of the Officers sent in their names to serve in expectation of Promotion, others stood aloof to see what advantage they could make for themselves, whilst a number who had declined, have again sent in their names to serve, so great has the confusion arising from these and many other perplexing circumstances been, that I found it impossible to fix this very interesting Business exactly on the Plan resolved on in Conference, tho I have kept up to the Spirit, as near as the nature and the necessity of the case would admit of. The Difficulty with the Soldiers is as great, indeed more so if possible, than with the Officers. They will not enlist until they know their Colonel, Lt. Colonel, Major, Captain &ca, so that it was necessary to fix the Officers the first thing, which at last is in some manner done, and I have given out enlisting Orders; You Sir, can easier judge than I can express the anxiety of mind, I labour under on this Occasion, especially at this time when we may expect the Enemy will begin to Act, on the arrival of their Reinforcement, part of which is already come and the remainder daily dropping in.<sup>96</sup> I have other distresses of a very alarming nature, the Arms of our Soldiery are so exceeding bad, that I assure you Sir, I cannot place a proper confidence in them. Our Powder is wasting fast, notwithstanding the strictest care, œconomy and attention is paid to it; the long season of wet weather, we have had, renders the greater part of what has been served out to the men of no use. Yesterday I had a proof of it, as a party of the Enemy, about four or five hundred taking the advantage of the High Tide, landed at Leechmore's

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point, which at that time was in effect an Island, we were alarmed, and of course ordered every man to examine his cartouch Box, when the Melancholy Truth appeared, and we were Obligated to furnish the greater part of them with fresh ammunition. The Damage done at the point was the taking of a Man, who watched a few Horses and Cows, Ten of the latter they carried off. Colonel Thompson marched down with his Regiment of Riflemen and was joined by Colonel Woodbridge with a part of his and a part of Patterson's regiment, who gallantly waded through the water and soon obliged the Enemy to embark under cover of a Man of War, a Floating Battery and the Fire of a Battery on Charles Town Neck. We have two of our Men

96. Ford prints the following notes at this point:

"These N. England men are a strange composition. Their commonalty is undoubtedly good, but they are so defective in materials for officers that it must require time to make a real good army out of 'em. Enclosed I send you the address of the generals to the soldiers. You must know that some officers who are discarded from the service are suspected of exerting themselves to dissuade the soldiers from reenlisting. To counteract their machinations was the design of this paper."— *Charles Lee to Robert Morris*, Nov. 22, 1775.

"We were some time apprehensive of losing every thing from the backwardness of the men in enlisting. It is supposed that the discarded officers labored to render the soldiers disaffected; but the men really have public spirits and recruiting goes on most swimmingly."— *Charles Lee to Robert Morris*, Dec. 9, 1775.

"The zeal and alacrity of the militia who were summon'd on the supposition that our lines would be degarnished, prognosticate well, and do much honor to these Provinces. There is certainly much public spirit in the bulk of the people and I think they merit public eulogium. The N. England delegates I am told have lately received so many rubs that they want a cordial. I beg therefore that you will administer one to those who are of your

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acquaintance in my name. I never saw a finer body than this militia.”— *Charles Lee to Benjamin Rush*, Dec. 12, 1775.

“The task [of disbanding army and forming new] was rendered very difficult by the reduction of eleven regiments and the discharge of such a number of officers who have done every thing to obstruct and retard the filling of the new army in hopes to ruin the establishment and bring themselves into place again.”— *General Greene to Governor Ward*.

“By letters from camp I find there is infinite difficulty in reinlisting the army. The idea of making it wholly Continental has induced so many alterations disgusting to both officers and men, that very little success has attended our recruiting orders. I have often told the Congress, that, under the idea of new modelling, I was afraid we should destroy our army. Southern gentlemen wish to remove that attachment, which the officers and men have to their respective colonies, and make them look up to the continent at large for their support or promotion. I never thought that attachment injurious to the common cause, but the strongest inducement to people to risk every thing in defence of the whole, upon the preservation of which must depend the safety of each colony. I wish, therefore, not to eradicate, but to regulate it in such a manner, as may most conduce to the protection of the whole.”— *Governor Ward to his brother*, Nov. 21, 1775.

dangerously Wounded by grape shot from the Man of War and by a Flag out this day we are informed the Enemy lost two of their Men. I have the Honor to be etc.

### **To MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER**

Cambridge, November 16, 1775.

Dear Sir: My last to you was the 5th Instt. I have since received your most agreeable Favour, and it's Inclosures of the 7th. The Surrender of St. John's is a pleasing Presage of the Reduction of Quebec, in effecting which, I hope, Colonel Arnold will cooperate. The



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last Account from him is dated the 13th. Octr., at the 2nd. Portage, from Kennebeck to the dead River, from whence he had dispatched an Express to you, and expected your Answer at Chaudiere Pond, where he expected to be in eight or ten Days. By your not mentioning to have heard from him, I apprehend the Express has been intercepted.

I am in very great Want of Powder, Lead, Mortars, Cannon, indeed of most Sorts of military Stores. For Want of them we really

cannot carry on any spirited Operation. I shall, therefore, be much obliged to you to send me all that can be spared from your Quarter. Mr. Henry Knox, an experienced Engineer will set out for your Place and inform you of those Articles that are most immediately necessary; but as this Gentleman goes first to New York, you will please to get in Readiness for Transportation, such Guns, Mortars, and Ammunition as you can, and Mr. Knox will on his Arrival send them forward. There is nothing of Consequence to acquaint you of from this Quarter, except the Arrival of a Train of Artillery, and Part of five Regiments from Ireland, to reinforce the ministerial Army at Boston. I am, etc.

### **To MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER**

Cambridge, November 16, 1775.

Dear Sir: I wrote you this Day by Express and informed you therein the great Necessity I was in for Ordnance Stores and Ammunition, and that I would send Henry Knox Esqr. to New York, to procure there, as much as can be spared; from thence to proceed to you. That Gentleman will deliver you this Letter. I recommend him and the Business he goes upon to your Attention. Should he find more Money than he carries with him, necessary, you will please to supply him. I am, etc.

### **To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

Camp Cambridge, November 19, 1775.

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Sir: I received your favors of the 7th and 10th instant with the Resolves of the Hon. Congress, to which I will pay all due attention. As soon as two capable Persons can be found, I will dispatch them to Nova Scotia, on the Service resolved on in Congress.<sup>7</sup> The Resolve to raise two Battalions of Marines, will (if practicable in the Army) entirely derange what has been done. It is therein mentioned, one Colonel for the two Battalions, of course a Colonel must be dismissed: One of the many difficulties which attended the New Arrangement, was in reconciling the different Interests and Judging of the merits of the different Colonels, in the dismissal of this one, the same difficulties will occur.

The Officers and Men must be acquainted with the maritime Affairs, to comply with which, they must be picked out of the whole Army, one from this Corps, one from another, so as to break through the whole System, which has cost us so much Time, anxiety and pains to bring into any tolerable form. Notwithstanding any Difficulties which will arise, you may be assured Sir, that I will use every endeavour to comply with their Resolve.<sup>8</sup>

I beg leave to submit it to the consideration of Congress, If those two Battalions can be formed out of this Army, Whether this is a Time to weaken our Lines, by employing any of the forces appointed to defend them, on any other Service? The Gentlemen who were here from the Congress, know their vast extent, they must know that we shall have occasion for our whole Force for that purpose, more now than at any past time, as we may expect the Enemy will take the Advantage of the first hard weather, and attempt to make an impression somewhere; That this is their intention we have many reasons to suspect. We have had in the last Week, Six Deserters and took two Stragglers Prisoners; they all agree that two companies with a Train of Artillery and one of the Regiments from Ireland were arrived at Boston; that fresh Ammunition and flints have been served out; That the Grenadiers and Light Infantry had Orders to hold themselves in readiness at a Moments Warning.

As there is every Appearance that this Contest will not be soon decided and of course that there must be an augmentation of the Continental Army, would it not be eligible to

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raise two Battalions of Marines in New York and Philadelphia, where there must be now numbers of Sailors unemployed? This however is matter of Opinion, which I mention with all due deference to the Superior Judgment of the Congress. Inclosed you have Copies of two Letters, one from Col: Arnold, the other from Col: Enos, I can form no Judgment on the latter's Conduct, till I see him; notwithstanding the great defection, I do not despair of Col: Arnold's success, he will have, in all probability, many more difficulties to encounter, than if he had

7. The resolve of Congress of November 10 to send two men to investigate conditions in Nova Scotia. The men sent were Aaron Willard and Moses Child. (See Washington's letter to the President of Congress, Feb. 14, 1776, *post.*)

8. On November 30 Congress resolved "That the General be directed to suspend the raising of two battalions of Marines out of his present army," and that they be raised "independent of the army already ordered for the service in Massachusetts bay."

9. Col. Roger Enos commanded the rear guard of Arnold's expedition into Canada. He returned unexpectedly from the expedition with all his troops, leaving Arnold to get along as best he could. He misinterpreted, or misunderstood, Arnold's orders and stripped his command of provisions. The entire matter is exhibited in Justin H. Smith's *Arnold's March to Quebec*.

been a fortnight sooner; as it is likely that Governor Carlton will with what forces he can collect after the Surrender of the rest of Canada, throw himself into Quebec and there make his last Effort. There is no late Account from Captains Broughton and Sellman, the other Cruizers have been chiefly confined to Harbour by the Badness of the weather; the same reason has caused great delay in building our Barracks, which with a most mortifying scarcity of fire Wood discourages the men from Enlisting. The last I am much afraid is an insuperable Obstacle, I have applied to the Honorable House of Representatives of this Province, who were pleased to appoint a Committee to Negotiate

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this Business, and notwithstanding all the pains they have been at and are taking, they find it impossible to supply our necessities; the want of a sufficient number of Teams I understand to be the Chief Impediment.

I got returns this day from Eleven Colonels, of the numbers of enlisted in their Regiments, the whole amount to nine hundred and Sixty Six men; there must be some other stimulus besides love for their Country, to make men fond of the Service; It would be a great encouragement and no additional expence to the continent were they to receive pay for the months of October and November also a months pay advance; The present state of the military chest will not admit of this, the sooner it is enabled to do so, the better?<sup>10</sup>

The Commissary General is daily expected in Camp. I cannot send you the estimate of the clerks in his Department until he arrives. I sincerely congratulate you upon the success of your Arms in the Surrender of St Johns, which I hope is a happy presage of the reduction of the rest of Canada. I have the Honor to be, Sir, etc.<sup>11</sup>

### **To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

Cambridge, November 28, 1775.

Sir: I had the Honor of writing to you the 19th instant, I have now to inform you that Henry Knox Esqr. is gone to New York, with orders to forward to this place, what cannon and ordinance can be there procured. From thence he will proceed to General Schuyler on the same Business, as you will see by the inclosed Copy of Instructions, which I have given him. It would give me much satisfaction that this Gentleman, or any other whom you may think qualified, was appointed to the command of the Artillery Regiment. In my Letter to you of the 8th. Instant, I have expressed myself fully on

10. On December 1 Congress resolved: "That the money [500,000 dollars] lately ordered, be forwarded, with all possible expedition, to General Washington, that he may be enabled to pay such soldiers as will re-inlist, for the succeeding year, their wages for the months

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of October, November, and December, and also advance them one month's pay." (See *Journals of the Continental Congress*.)

11. This letter, in the writing of Stephen Moylan, was read in Congress November 27.

this Subject, which I beg leave to recommend to your immediate attention, as the formation of that Corps will be at a stand, until I am honored with your Instructions thereon.

The Vessel laden with wine, which I advised you was wrecked on this coast, proves to have been the property of a Thomas Salter of Philadelphia, the papers relative to her and cargo were sent to Robert Morris Esqr who can give you every information thereon. The Schooner with the Dry Goods from Boston to Halifax is given up to the Committee of Safety at Beverly, who will dispose of her and Cargo, agreeable to the decision of a Court of Admiralty and the Schooner carried into Portsmouth by Captain Adams proves to be a friends and of course is discharged.

There are two persons engaged to go to Nova Scotia, on the Business recommended in your last, by the best information we have from thence, the Stores &c. have been withdrawn sometime; should this not be the case, It is next to an impossibility to attempt any thing there in the present unsettled and precarious state of the Army. Colonel Enos is arrived and under arrest, he acknowledges he had no Orders for coming away, his Trial cannot come on, until I hear from Col. Arnold, from whom there is no Account since I wrote you last.

From what I can collect, by my inquiries amongst the Officers, It will be impossible to get the men to inlist for the continuance of the War, which will be an insuperable Obstruction to the formation of the two Battalions of Marines on the plan resolved on in Congress. As it can make no difference I propose to proceed on the new Arrangement of the Army and when completed, enquire out such Officers and Men as are best qualified for that service, and endeavor to form these Battalions out of the whole; This appears to me the best method and will I hope meet the approbation of Congress. As it will be very difficult for

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the Men to work when the hard frost sets in, I have thought it necessary (tho' of little use at present) to take possession of Cobble Hill, for the benefit of any future Operations. It was effected without the least opposition from the Enemy the 23d Instant: Their inactivity on this Occasion is what I can not account for; It is probable they are meditating a Blow some where. About 300 Men, Women and Children of the poor Inhabitants of Boston, came out to Point Shirley last Friday, they have brought their

Household furniture, but unprovided of every other necessary of Life: I have recommended them to the attention of the Committee of the Honorable Council of this Province, now sitting at Water Town.

The number inlisted since my last are 2540 men. I am very sorry to be necessitated to mention to you the egregious want of Public Spirit which reigns here; instead of pressing to be engaged in the cause of their Country, which I vainly flattered myself would be the case, I find we are likely to be deserted at a most critical time; Those that have Inlisted, must have a furlough, which I have been Obligated to grant to 50 at a time from each Regiment. The Connecticut Troops upon whom I reckoned are as backward, indeed if possible more so than the people of this colony, our situation is truly Alarming, and of this General Howe is well apprized, It being the common topick of conversation when the People left Boston last Friday; no doubt when he is reinforced he will avail himself of the Information.

I am making the best disposition I can for our defence having thrown up, besides the Works on Cobble Hill, several redoubts, Half Moons &ca. along the Bay; And I fear I shall be under the necessity of calling in the Militia and Minute Men of the Country to my Assistance. I say I fear it, because by what I can learn from the Officers in the Army belonging to this Colony, it will be next to an impossibility to keep them under any degree of Discipline, and that it will be very difficult to prevail on them to remain a moment longer than they chuse themselves; It is a mortifying reflection to be reduced to this dilemma, there has been nothing wanting on my part to infuse a proper Spirit amongst the Officers,

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that they may exert their Influence with the Soldiery. You see by a fortnights recruiting amongst men with Arms in their Hands, how little has been the success.

As the small Pox is now in Boston, I have used the precaution of prohibiting such as lately came out from coming near our Camp. General Burgoyne I am informed will soon embark for England. I think the risque too great to write you by Post, whilst it continues to pass thro' New York, it is certain that a post has been intercepted the begining of last Month, as they sent out several Letters from Boston with the Post mark at Baltimore on them, this goes by Captain Joseph Blewer who promises to deliver it carefully unto you.

You doubtless will have heard ere this reaches, of General Montgomery having got Possession of Montreal, I congratulate you thereon, he has troubles with his Troops as well as I have—all I can learn of Colo: Arnold is that he is near Quebec, I hope Montgomery will be able to proceed to his Assistance I shall be very uneasy until I hear they are joined. My best respects to Congress, etc. I have the Honor, etc.<sup>23</sup>

23. In the writing of Stephen Moylan.

### **To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

Cambridge, November 30, 1775.

Sir: I had the Honor to write you the 28th. inst. by Captain Joseph Blewer. Last evening I received the Agreeable Account of the Schooner Lee, commanded by Capt. Manly having taken and carried into Cape Ann a large Brigantine bound from London to Boston laden with Military Stores, the Inventory of which I have the pleasure to enclose You.<sup>31</sup>

Cape Ann is a very open Harbour and accessible to large Ships, which made me immediately send off, Col: Glover and Mr. Palfrey, with orders to raise the Minute Men and Militia of that part of the Country, to have the Cargo landed without Loss of Time and guarded up to this Camp; this I hope they will be able to effect, before it is known to

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the Enemy what port she is carried into, I sincerely congratulate you on this very great Acquisition and am, Sir, etc.

P S: Manly has also taken a Sloop in the Ministerial Service and Capt. Adams in the Schooner Warren, a Schooner laden with Potatoes and Turnips for Boston and carried her to Portsmouth.

31. The *Nancy*. The inventory of her cargo is in the *Washington Papers*.

### To MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER

Cambridge, November 28, 1775.

Dear Sir: You may easily conceive that I had great Pleasure in perusing your Letter of the 18th Inst., which with the Inclosures, I received last Evening. It was much damp'd by my finding that General Montgomery had the same Difficulty to encounter with the Troops under your Command, that I have with these here. No Troops were ever better provided, or higher paid; yet their Backwardness to enlist for another Year is amazing. It grieves me to see so little of that patriotic Spirit, which I was taught to believe, was characteristic of this People.

Colonel Enos, who had the Command of Arnold's rear Division is returned with the greater Part of his Men, which must weaken him so much as to render him incapable of making a successful Attack on Quebec, without Assistance from General Montgomery. I hope he will be able to give it him, and by taking that City finish his glorious Campaign. I have nothing material to communicate to you from hence. I am making every Disposition for Defence, by throwing

up Redoubts &c along the Bay; some of which have been constructed under the Enemy's Guns, but they have not given us the least Disturbance.



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I suppose Mr. Howe waits the Arrival of his Reinforcements, when probably he will attempt something. He has sent out about 300 Men, Women, and Children last Week. They give shocking Accounts of the Want of Fuel and fresh Provisions. General Burgoyne is gone, or is going Home.

Last Evening, I received, the agreeable Acct. of one of our arm'd Schooners having taken a large Brigantine laden with military Stores, the Inventory of which I have the Pleasure to inclose.<sup>28</sup> But let not this Acquisition prevent our sending what Stores you can spare. We shall want them all. Adieu, my dear General. I wish you a Return of your Health; and am, &c.

### To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Cambridge, December 2, 1775.

Sir: The reason of my giving you the trouble of this, is the late extraordinary and reprehensible conduct of some of the Connecticut Troops. Sometime ago, apprehending that some of them might incline to go home when their time of enlistment should be up, I applied to the Officers of the several Regiments, to know whether it would be agreeable to the men, to continue till the 1st. of January, or until a sufficient number of other forces could be raised to supply their Place; who Informed me that they believed the whole of them would readily stay, till that could be effected. Having discovered last week, that they were very uneasy to leave the Service, and determined upon it; I thought it expedient, to summon the General Officers at Head Quarters, and Invited a Delegation of the General Court, to be present, that Suitable measures might be adopted for the defence and Support of our lines; the result was, that three thousand of the Minute Men and Militia of this Province, and

28. This was the capture of the brig *Nancy* by the armed schooner *Lee*, commanded by Captain Manly, and taken to Cape Ann, Mass. The *Nancy* had on board, among other

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stores, 2,000 muskets, 100,000 flints, 30,000 round shot, more than 30 tons of musket shot, 11 mortar beds, and a brass mortar weighing nearly 3,000 pounds.

two thousand men from New Hampshire, should be called in by the 10th. Instant for that purpose. With this determination the Connecticut Troops were made acquainted, and requested and ordered to remain here, as the time of most of them would not be out before the 10th., when they would be relieved. Notwithstanding this, yesterday morning, most of them resolved to leave the Camp; many went off, and the utmost Vigilance and Industry were used to apprehend them; several got away with their Arms and Amunition. I have inclosed you a list of the names of some of them in Genl. Putnam's Regiment only who escaped; and submit to your judgment, whether some example should not be made of these men, who have basely deserted the Cause of their Country at this critical Juncture, when the Enemy are receiving Reinforcement.<sup>35</sup>

### **To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

Cambridge, December 4, 1775.

Sir: I had the Honor of writing to you the 30th. Ulto. inclosing an Inventory of the Military Stores taken on board the Brigantine Nancy by Capt. Manly of the Armed Schooner Lee. —I have now to inform you that he has since sent into Beverly a Ship named the Concord, James Lowrie Master from Greenock in Scotland bound to Boston she has on board Dry Goods and Coals to the value of £3606,,9,,7, shiped by Crawford Anderson & Co. and consigned to James Anderson Merchant chant in Boston.—it is mentioned in the Letters found on Board, that this Cargo was for the use of the Army, but on a Strict examination I find it is the Property of the Shipper's and the Person to whom consigned. Pray what is to be done with this Ship and Cargoe? and what with the Brigantine that brought the Military Stores? It was agreed in the conference last October, that all Vessels employed merely as transports and unarmed with their crews be set at Liberty, upon giving security to return to Europe, but that this Indulgence be not extended longer than 'till the first of April next. In

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the Shippers Letter they mention—"You must procure a certificate from the General and Admiral,

35. Ford quotes from the letter of Silas Deane to his wife (December 15): "The behavior of our soldiers has made me sick; but little better could be expected from men trained up with notions of their right of saying how, and when, and under whom, they will serve; and who have, for certain dirty political purposes been tampered with by their officers, among whom no less than a *general* has been busy."

Gen. Charles Lee stated in a letter to Benjamin Rush that the Connecticut men "marched off bag and baggage, but in passing through the lines of other regiments they were so horribly hissed, groaned at and pelted, that I believed they wished their aunts, grandmothers and even sweethearts, to whom the day before they were so much attached, at the Devil's own palace."

This is a very different picture from that in Washington's letter to Trumbull. The latter, in his reply, expressed grief, surprise, and indignation, promised to furnish Connecticut's quota of men, and begged Washington not to judge of the temper and spirit of the colony by the conduct of these troops.

of the Concords being in the Government Service, such as the Glasgow Packet brought with her, which was of great service, procured a Liberty to Arm her which was refused us, also gave her a preference for some recruits that went out in her." In another part of this Letter they say, "Captain Lowrie will deliver you the contract for the Coals, we gave it to him as perhaps it might be of use as a certificate of his Ship being employed in the Government Service." Every Letter on board breaths nothing but emmity to this Country, and a vast number of them there are.

It is some time since I recommended to the Congress, that they would institute a Court for the Trial of Prizes made by the Continental Armed Vessel, which I hope they have ere now

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taken into their consideration, otherwise I should again take the Liberty of urging it in the most pressing manner.

The Scandalous Conduct of a great Number of the Connecticut Troops has laid me under the Necessity of calling in a Body of the Militia much sooner than I apprehended there would be an Occasion for such a Step. I was affraid some time ago that they would incline to go home when the time of their Inlistments expired; I called upon the Officers of the several Regiments to know whether they could prevail on the Men to remain until the first of January, or 'till a sufficient Number of other Forces could be raised to supply their place: I suppose they were deceived themselves, I know they deceived me, by assurances that I need be under no apprehension on that score, for the Men would not leave the Lines. Last Friday shewed how much they were mistaken, as the Major part of the Troops of that Colony were going away with their Arms and Ammunition, we have however by threats, persuasion and the Activity of the People of the Country who sent back many of them that had set out, prevailed upon the most part to stay. There are about 80 of them missing.

I have called in 3000 Men from this Province and General Sullivan who lately returned from the Province of New Hampshire, having informed me that a Number of Men were there ready at the shortest Notice, I have demanded 2000 from that Province, these two Bodies I expect will be in by the 10th. instant to make up the defficiency of the Connecticut Men,

whom I have promised to dismiss on that day, as well as the Numbers to whom I was obliged to grant Furloughs before any would inlist. As the same defection is much to be apprehended when the time of the Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire and Rhode Island Forces are expired I beg the attention of Congress to this important Affair.<sup>38</sup>

I am informed that it has been the Custom of these Provinces in the last War for the Legislative power to order every Town to provide a certain Quota of men for the Campaign. This or some other mode should be at present adopted, as I am satisfied the

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men cannot be had without. this the Congress will please to take into their immediate consideration. My suspicions on this Head I shall also communicate to the Governors Trumbull and Cooke as well as to the New Hampshire Convention.

The Number enlisted in the last Week are about 1300 Men, by this you see how slow this important Work goes on.

Inclosed is a Letter wrote to me by General Putnam recommending Col: Babcock<sup>39</sup> to the Brigadier Generalship now vacant in this Army. I know nothing of this Gentleman, but I wish the vacancy was filled, as the want of one is attended with very great inconveniences. An express is just come in from General Schuyler with Letters from Colonel Arnold and General Montgomery, copies of which I have the Honor to inclose you.<sup>40</sup>

Upon the whole I think, Affairs carry a pleasing aspect in that Quarter, the reduction of Quebec is an Object of such great importance, that I doubt not the Congress will give every Assistance in their power for the accomplishing it this Winter.

By the last accounts from the Armed Schooners sent to the River St. Lawrence, I fear we have but little to expect from them, they were falling short of Provision and mention that they would be obliged to return, which at this Time is particularly unfortunate; as if they chose a proper station, all the Vessells coming down that River must fall into their hands. The plague, trouble and vexation I have had with the Crews of all the armed Vessels is inexpressible; I do believe there is not on Earth

38. Thomas Lynch, Delegate from South Carolina and one of the committee of conference in camp, wrote to Washington (November 13) after returning to Congress: "Providence favors us everywhere; our success in every operation exceeds our most sanguine expectations; and yet, when God is ready to deliver our oppressors into our hands, that men cannot be found willing to receive them, is truly surprising. With grief and shame it must be confessed, that the whole blame hes not with the army. You will find your hands straightened instead of strengthened....Be this as it may, resolution and firmness

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ought to rule our councils. A step yielded to improper and intemperate demands may be irretrievable." This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

39. Henry Babcock. "He has this day been very serviceable in assisting me in quelling a mutiny and bringing back a number of deserters."— *Putnam to Washington*, Dec. 1, 1775. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

40. Schuyler's letter of November 22, inclosing Arnold's of November 8 and Montgomery's of November 17, all three of which are in the *Washington Papers*. They describe the progress of affairs in Canada.

a more disorderly set; every time they come into Port, we hear of nothing but mutinous Complaints Manley's success has lately and but lately quitted his People the Crews of the Washington and Harrison have Actually deserted them, so that I have been under the necessity of ordering the Agent to lay the latter up and get hands for the other on the best Terms he could. The House of Representative and the Honr. Board have sent me a vote of theirs relative to the Harbour of Cape Cod, copy of which you have herewith, I shall send an Officer thither to examine what can be done for its defence, tho' I do not think I shall be able to give them such Assistance as may be requisite, for I have at present neither Men Powder or Cannon to spare. The great want of Powder is what the attention Of Congress should be particularly applied to. I dare not attempt any thing offensive, let the temptation or advantage be ever so great, as I have not more of that most essential Article than will be absolutely necessary to defend our Lines, should the Enemy attempt to Attack them. By recent information from Boston, General Howe is going to send out a number of the Inhabitants, in order as it is thought to make more room for his expected reinforcements; there is one part of the information that I can hardly give Credit to, A Sailor says that a Number of these coming out have been inoculated with design of Spreading the Small pox through this Country and Camp. I have communicated this to the General Court and recommended their attention thereto.

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They are Arming one of the Transports in Boston with which they mean to decoy some of our Vessels, as we are apprized of their design, I hope they will be disappointed. My best respects wait on the Gentlemen in Congress I am, etc.<sup>41</sup>

P.S. near 300 persons are landed at Point Shirley from Boston I was misinformed when I mentioned that one Regt. had arrived at Boston, a few Companies of the 17th. and Artillery were all that are come.<sup>42</sup>

41. On December 19 it was resolved that all transports carrying cargoes to the British Army or Navy were liable to seizure and confiscation.

42. This letter, in the writing of Stephen Moylan, was read in Congress December 13.

### **To COLONEL BENEDICT ARNOLD**

Cambridge, December 5, 1775.

Dear Sir: Your Letter of the 8th. Ult. with a Postscript of the 14th. from Point Levi, I have had the Pleasure to receive. It is not in the Power of any Man to command Success; but you have done more—you have deserved it, and before this, I hope, have met with the Laurels which are due to your Toils, in the Possession of Quebec. My Thanks are due, and sincerely offered to you, for your enterprizing and persevering Spirit. To your brave Followers I likewise present them. I was not unmindful of you or them in the Establishment of a new Army. One out of 26 Regiments (lately General Putnam's) you are appointed to the Command of and I have ordered all the Officers with you, to the one or the other, of these Regiments, in the Rank they now bear that in Case they choose to continue in Service, and no Appointments take Place, where they now are, no Disappointment may follow. Nothing very material has happened in this Camp since you left it. Finding we were not likely to do much in the Land Way, I fitted out several Privateers, or rather armed Vessels, in Behalf of the Continent, with which we have taken several Prizes to the

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Amount, it is supposed, of £15,000 Sterling. One of them a valuable Store-Ship (but no Powder in it) containing a fine Brass Mortar 13 Inch, 2000 Stands of Arms, Shot &c., &c.

I have no Doubt but a Junction of your Detachment with the Army under General Montgomery, is effected before this. If so, you will put yourself under his Command and will, I am persuaded, give him all the Assistance in your Power, to finish the glorious Work you have begun. That the Almighty may preserve and prosper you in it, is the sincere and fervent Prayer of, Dr. Sir, &c.

P.S. You could not be more surprised than I was at Enos's Return with the Division under his Command. I immediately put him under Arrest, and had him tried for quitting the Detachment without your Orders. He is acquitted, on the Score of Provision.

### **To MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER**

Cambridge, December 5, 1775.

Dear Sir: Your much esteemed Favour of the 22nd Ulto., covering Colonel Arnolds Letter, with a Copy of one to General Montgomery and his to you, I received yesterday Morning. It gave me the highest Satisfaction to hear of Colonel Arnold's being at Point Levi, with his Men in great Spirits, after their long and fatiguing March, attended with almost insuperable Difficulties, and the discouraging Circumstances of being left by near one Third of the Troops that went on the Expedition. The Merit of this Gentleman is certainly great, and I heartily wish that Fortune may distinguish him as one of her Favourites. I am convinced that he will do every Thing that Prudence and Valour shall suggest, to add to the Success of our Arms, and for reducing Quebec to our Possession.—Should he not be able to accomplish so desirable a Work with the Forces he has, I flatter myself that it will be effected, when General Montgomerie joins him, and our Conquest of Canada be compleat. I am exceedingly sorry to find you so much plagued and embarrassed by the Disregard of Discipline, Confusion and Want of Order among the Troops, as to have occasioned you to mention to Congress, an Inclination to retire. I know that your Complaints are too



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well founded; but I would willingly hope that nothing will induce you to quit the Service, and that in Time, Order and Subordination will take Place of Confusion, and Command be rendered more agreeable.—I have met with Difficulties of the same sort, and such as I never expected; but they must be borne with. The Cause we are engaged in is so just and righteous, that we must try to rise superior to every Obstacle in it's Support; and, therefore, I beg that you will not think of resigning, unless you have carried your Application to Congress too far to recede.<sup>44</sup> I am, etc.

44. Schuyler had written to Washington (November 22): “Nothing can surpass the impatience of the troops from the New England Colonies to get to their firesides. Near three hundred of them arrived a few days ago, unable to do any duty; but as soon as I administered that grand specific, *a discharge*, they instantly acquired health, and rather than be detained a few days to cross Lake George, they undertook a march from here of two hundred miles with the greatest alacrity. Our army requires to be put on a different footing, Habituated to order, I cannot, without the most extreme pain, see that disregard of discipline, confusion, and inattention, which reign so generally in this quarter, and I am therefore determined to retire. Of this resolution I have advised Congress.” Schuyler's letter to Congress is dated November 18. Both of these letters are in the *Washington Papers*.

### To GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE

Cambridge, December 5, 1775.

Sir: I have of late met with abundant reason, to be convinced of the impracticability of Recruiting this Army to the New establishment, in any reasonable time by voluntary Inlistments. The causes of such exceeding great lukewarmness, I shall not undertake to point out; sufficient it is to know, that the fact is so. Many reasons are Assigned; one only I shall mention, and that is, that the present Soldiery are in expectation of drawing from the landed Interest and Farmers, a bounty equal to the Commencement of this Army, and that

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therefore they play off. Be this as it may, I am satisfied that this is not a time for trifling and that the Exigency of our affairs calls aloud for vigorous exertions.

By sad experience it is found, that the Connecticut Regiments have deserted and are about to desert the noble cause we are engaged in. Nor have I any reason to believe, that the Forces of New Hampshire, this Government or Rhode Island, will give stronger proofs of their Attachment to it, when the period arrives, when they may Claim their dismissal. For after every stimulus in my power to throw in their way, and near a month's close endeavour, we have Inlisted men, 1500 of which are to be absent at a time on Furlough, until all have gone home in order to Visit and provide for their Families.

Five thousand Militia from this Government and the Colony of New Hampshire, are ordered to be at this Place by the 10th Instant, to relieve the Connecticut Regiments and Supply the deficiency which will be occasioned by their departure and of those on furlough. These men, I am told by officers who have been Eye witnesses to their behaviour are not to be depended upon for more than a few days; as they soon get tired, grow impatient, ungovernable and of course leave the Service. what will be the consequences then, If the greatest part of the Army is to be composed of such Men? Upon the new Establishment 26 Regiments were ordered to be raised, besides those of the Artillery and Riflemen.—of these, New Hampshire has 3, Massachusetts 16, Rhode Island 2, and Connecticut 5. A mode of appointing the Officers was also recommended, and as strictly adhered to as

circumstances would admit of. These officers are now recruiting, with the success I have mentioned.

Thus Sir, have I given you a true and impartial State of our Situation, and Submit it to the Wisdom of your and the other three New England Colonies, whether some vigorous measures, If the powers of Government are adequate ought not to be adopted, to facilitate the Completion of this army without offering a bounty from the public, which Congress have declared against, thinking the terms exclusive thereof, greater than ever Soldiers

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had. I have by this conveyance, laid the Matter before Congress, but the critical Situation of our affairs will not Await their deliberation and Recommendation. Something must be done without further delay. I am Sir, &c.43

### **To THE MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE**

Cambridge, December 6, 1775.

Sir: Copies of the inclosed Letters I have already written to the Governors of Rhode Island and Connecticut and shall do the same to the president of the Congress in New Hampshire; as I conceive our affairs are in a very Critical situation. It was mentioned to me yesterday in conversation, that the Militia of this Government, who were ordered in to supply the places of the Connecticut troops, are allowed in to Month of 28 days. The first I highly approved of, because I was unwilling to see any invidious distinction in pay, the never failing consequence of which is, jealousy and discord. But Sir, if the Genl. Court of this Colony have resolved on the latter, you must give me leave to add, that it aims the most fatal stab to the peace of this Army, that ever was given; and that Lord North himself could not have devised a more effectual blow to the recruiting Service. Excuse me Sir, for

43. The same letter was sent to Governor Trumbull and the Legislatures of Massachusetts and New Hampshire.

the Strength of these expressions. If my information is wrong, (I had it from Genl Heath, who says he had it from a Member of your Court) they are altogether Improper, and I crave your Pardon for them: if right, my zeal in the American Cause must plead my Excuse. I am, etc.

### **To GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE**

Cambridge, December 6, 1775.

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Sir: Your favors of the 25th and 30th Ult. I received, and am to inform you, that from the good Character you gave of Mr. Aborn, I ordered the Agent in whose care his Vessel was, to deliver her up to him. There were other Circumstances too, that were favorable to Mr. Aborn and induced a belief that he was not inimical to our Cause. I am much obliged, by your kind attention to my two Letters of the 15th and 18th of Novr., and for your promise to lay the matters mention'd in the first before the General Committee and ordering the Troops, which were on Block Island, to this Camp. I am &c.

### **To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

Camp Cambridge, December 7, 1775.

Sir: I wrote you the 4th instant by express to which I beg you will be referred. My fears that Broughton and Sellman would not effect any good purpose were too well founded, They are returned and brought with them, three of the Principal Inhabitants from the Island of St. Johns, Mr. Collbuck as President of the Council acted as Governor; They brought the Governors Commission, the Province Seal &ca. &ca. As the Captains acted without any

Warrant for such Conduct, I have thought it but Justice to discharge these Gentlemen whose Families were left in the greatest distress.

I am credibly informed that James Anderson the Consignee and part Owner of the Ship Concord and Cargo, is not only unfriendly to American Liberty, but actually in Arms against us, being Captain of the Scotch Company in Boston. Whether your being acquainted with this Circumstance or not, will operate against the Vessel and Cargo, I will not take upon me to say, but there are many Articles on board Absolutely necessary for this Army, which whether a prize or not, they must have. I have the Honor to be, Sir, &ca.

### **To THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY AT PORTSMOUTH, NEW HAMPSHIRE**

Cambridge, December 7, 1775.

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Gentn.: Richard Emms a prisoner at Portsmouth, having expressed a strong desire to go to his family and friends in the West Indies, in a Schooner which is about to go there; you will be pleased to grant him a permit for that purpose, unless there be objections against it, which I am not apprized of.—I am &c.

### **To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

Cambridge, December 11, 1775.

Sir: Captain Manly of the Lee Armed Schooner has taken and sent into Beverly two prizes since I wrote you last, which was the 7th. instant; one of them is the Ship Jenny Capt: Foster who left London late in October, he has very unfortunately thrown all his papers overboard, is not yet arrived at Camp; If he does, before I close this, I will let you know what Information I get from him, his Vessel is loaded with Coal and porter, of the Latter he has about 100 Butts. The other is a Brigantine from Antigua, called the Little Hannah, Robert Adams Master, her Cargoe consists of 139 Hogsheads of Rum, 100 Cases of Geneva and some other trifling Articles, both Cargoes were for the Army and Navy at Boston. I have great pleasure in Congratulating you on this Success. The Numbers Inlisted last Week are Men; If they go on at this Slow rate, It will be a long time before this Army is

complete. I have Wrote to the Governors of Connecticut and Rhode Island, also to the Convention of New Hampshire on this Subject, a Copy of my Letter I have the Honor to inclose herewith. A Letter to the same purport I sent to the Legislature of this Province.

The Militia are coming fast, I am much pleased with the Alacrity which the good People of this province as well, as those of New Hampshire, have shewn upon this occasion; I expect the whole will be in this day and to Morrow, when what remains of the Connecticut Gentry, who have not Inlisted will have liberty to go to their Firesides.

The Commissary General is still by his Indisposition detained from Camp, he committed an error when making out the Ration list, for he was then serving out and has continued

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to do, six Ounces pr man pr Week of Butter tho' it is not included in the List approved of by Congress. I do not think It would be expedient to put a stop thereto, as every thing that would have a tendency to give the Soldiery room for Complaints must be avoided.

The Information I received that the Enemy intended spreading the small Pox amongst us, I could not suppose them capable of; I now must give some credit to it, as it has made its appearance on several of those who last came out of Boston, every necessary precaution has been taken to prevent its being communicated to this Army, and the General Court will take care that it does not spread through the Country.

I have not heard that any more Troops are arrived at Boston, which is a luckily circumstance, as the Connecticut Troops I now find are for the most part gone of. The Houses in Boston are lessening every day, they are pulled down either for firewood, or to prevent the effects of fire, should we attempt a Bombardment, or an Attack upon the Town.<sup>46</sup> Cobble Hill is strongly fortified without any Interruption from the Enemy. Col: Enos has been tryed and acquitted, upon what Principles you will see by the process of his Trial, which I now send you. As the time of Col: Enos's engagement was near expired, a doubt arose whether he could then be tryed by a Court Martial, this it was which occasioned his Trial to come on before Col: Arnolds Evidence could be had.<sup>47</sup> This is what at present occur from Sir, your &ca.

46. General Howe's orderly book (December 5) shows the following: "The frequent depredations committed by the soldiers in pulling down houses and fences, in defiance of repeated orders, have induced the Commander in Chief to direct the Provost to go his rounds attended by the executioners, with orders to hang up upon the spot, the first man he shall detect in the act, without waiting for further proof by trial."

47. The proceedings of the court-martial are given in Force's *American Archives*, Fourth Series, vol. 3, 1709.

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P. S. The Weekly returns of Inlistments not being yet received for more than 10 Regiments amounting to 275 Men, I can not fill up the Blank in this Letter, but this added to the former makes in the whole 5253.48

### To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Cambridge, December 14, 1775.

Sir: I received your favor of the 2d instant with the several Resolves of Congress therein inclosed.<sup>52</sup> —The Resolves relative to Captures made by Continental Armed Vessels only want a Court Established for Trial to make them complete. This I hope will be soon done, as I have taken the Liberty to urge it often to Congress.

I am some what at a loss to know whether I am to raise the two Battalions of Marines here or not, as the delay can be attended with little Inconvenience, I will wait a further explanation from Congress before I take any Steps thereon.

I am much pleased that the money will be forwarded with all possible expedition, as it is much wanted, also that Conolly and his Associates are taken. It has been a very fortunate Discovery. I make no doubt, but that the Congress will take every necessary measure to disposses Lord Dunmore of his hold in Virginia, the sooner steps are taken for that purpose, the more probability there will be of their being effectual.<sup>53</sup>

Mr. Wm. Aspinwall and Mr. Lemuel Haywood were appointed Surgeons at Roxbury in the first formation of the Army, they were confirmed by Doctor Church, who promised to write to Congress in their behalf, they applied to me during his confinement here, at a time that I had notice of Doctor Morgan's appointment, I referred them to his arrival, and inclosed you have his Sentiments relative to them, also of Doctor Rand, Surgeon to the Small Pox Hospital, and his Mate; I have to remark to you, that when we had some time past, got the better of the small pox, Doctor Rand applied to me for a continuance of him in that Department, which from a principle of not multiplying Offices I declined; he is at present

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wanted and says that by only attending occasionally, he loses his country practice, of course his Livelyhood.

48. The letter sent is in the writing of Stephen Moylan; the postscript is in that of Washington.

52. "A letter from General Washington dated 14th December being delivered by two strangers was read. Resolved that the same be committed to the Secret Committee, who are directed to confer with the bearers, and pursue such measures as they may think proper for the interest of the United Colonies." (See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Dec. 30, 1775,)

53. Congress had determined (December 2) to assemble a small squadron of armed vessels to proceed against Lord Dunmore. Captain Stone and his vessel were engaged for the venture; Benjamin Harrison was directed to proceed to Maryland and procure two or three armed vessels to operate in Chesapeake Bay; and Capt. Abraham Whipple, as soon as he arrived in Philadelphia, was to be sent to that bay to cooperate. Ford notes that Richard Henry Lee wrote to Arthur Lee (July 6, 1783) his recollection that the appearance of two British ships in the bay put an end to the attempt.

You will please to lay these matters before Congress for their consideration. I was happy enough to anticipate the desire of Congress respecting Mr. Crafts and Mr. Trot,<sup>54</sup> they both declined; the latter did not chuse to serve, the former's ambition was not fully gratified by the offer made him of a Majority. I hope Col. Knox will soon finish the Business he is upon and appear here to take the Honorable command conferred on him by Congress.<sup>55</sup>

I will make application to Genl. Howe and propose an Exchange for Mr. Ethan Allen. I am much afraid I shall have a like proposal to make for Captain Martindale of the Armed Brigantine Washington and his Men, who it is reported was taken a few days past by a Man of War and carried into Boston. We cannot expect to be allways successfull.



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You will doubtless here of the Barbarity of Capt. Wallace on Cananicut Island, 'ere this reaches your hands.<sup>56</sup>

About 150 more of the poor Inhabitants are come out of Boston, the small pox rages all over the Town, such of the Military as had it not before, are now under inoculation. This I apprehend is a weapon of defence, they are using against us, what confirms me in this Opinion is, that I have Information that they are tearing up the pavements, to be provided against a Bombardment. I wrote you this day by Messieurs Pennet and De Plierne, who will lay before the Congress or a Committee thereof, proposals for furnishing the Continent with Arms and Ammunition, I refer you to themselves for further particulars. I have the Honor, etc.

54. Thomas Crafts, jr., and George Trott. (See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Dec. 2, 1775.)

55. Henry Knox was elected colonel of the regiment of artillery by Congress on November 17.

56. Connanicut is a small island opposite Newport, in Narragansett Bay, Capt. Hugh Wallace, with a body of British sailors and marines, landed on the island, burned several houses, plundered the people, and drove off their cattle.

### To GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE

Cambridge, December 14, 1775.

Sir: Your favor of the 11th. Inst. was handed me by the two french Gentlemen, Monsieurs Penet and De pleurne,<sup>50</sup> for which I am exceedingly obliged to you. I have heard their proposals and plan, for supplying the Continent with Arms and Amunition, which appear plausible and to promise Success; But not thinking myself Authorised to Enter into any contract respecting the same and being not fully acquainted with the Measures

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Congress have adopted for procuring these Articles; I have prevailed upon them to go to Philadelphia and Recommended them and the Consideration of their plan to that Body, where the Matter will be finally agreed upon or rejected.

I must request the favor of you, to furnish every Necessary for accomodating them and Carriages with all expedition, for Carrying them as far as Governor Trumbull's. They are to travel at the Continental Expence, and whatever charge you may be at on their Account, you will be pleased to transmit to me, and it shall be immediately Reimbursed.<sup>51</sup> Yours &c.

50. Pierre Penet and Emanuel de Pliarne, merchants from Nantes, France. They arrived in Rhode Island from Cape François. This seems to have been the first outside assistance received by the Colonies, but this venture does not appear to have been connected in any way with Beaumarchais or the French Government. The precise quantity of supplies furnished by Penet and Pliarne is not easily discovered. Penet has the unique distinction of having been made a brevet aide-de-camp to Washington before his return to France. Pliarne remained in America and was accidentally drowned while crossing the Potomac at Georgetown (now a part of Washington, D. C.).

51. Practically this same letter was written this same day to Governor Trumbull.

### **To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Cambridge, December 15, 1775.

Sir: Your favors of the 7th and 9th Inst. I received and was much pleased to hear of the Zeal of the people of Connecticut and the readiness of the Inhabitants of the several Towns, to march to this Camp upon their being acquainted with the behaviour and desertion of their Troops. I have nothing to suggest for the consideration of your Assembly; I am confident they will not be wanting in their exertions, for supporting the just and constitutional rights of the Colonies.

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Inclosed I send you a list of the Officers and Companies under the New establishment, with the number of the Men Inlisted; the Return only came in to day, or I would have transmitted it before.

Having heard that It's doubtful, whether the Reverend Mr. Leonard<sup>58</sup> from your Colony, will have it in his power to Continue here as a Chaplain, I cannot but express some Concern, as I think his departure will be a loss. His General Conduct has been exemplary and praiseworthy: In discharging the duties of his Office, active and industrious; he has discovered himself warm and steady friend to his Country, and taken great pains to animate the Soldiery and Impress them with a knowledge of the important rights we are contending for. Upon the late desertion of the Troops, he gave a Sensible and judicious discourse, holding forth the Necessity of courage and bravery and at the same time of Obedience and Subordination to those in Command.

In justice to the merits of this Gentleman, I thought it only right to give you this Testimonial of my Opinion of him and to mention him to you, as a person worthy of your esteem and that of the Public. I am Sir, &c.

### **To THE MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE**

Cambridge, December 16, 1775.

Gentn.: Among many Resolves of Congress which were forwarded to me the other day, are the inclosed.

Not being able to discover from the Resolves themselves, or the Letter which accompanied them, whether a Copy had been

58. Abiel Leonard, chaplain of the Third Connecticut Regiment; chaplain of Knox's Continental artillery through the year 1776. He became insane in 1777 and died in 1778.

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64. On this day Washington wrote a short note to Congress informing that body of the sailing of 10 vessels from Boston, with one regiment of foot and three of light horse, said to be bound for Halifax. He also wrote practically the same note to the New Hampshire Legislature.

transmitted to you by the president, or to be handed in by me, I thought it best to err on the safe side; especially as the Qr M Genl. has just informed me, that he is exceeding scarce of Hay and can get none under Six Pounds lawful a Ton; and that he is fearful, if he should even consent to offer this, (enormous as it is), the price will be further advanced upon him, as heretofore and in the Article of Wood. I am &c.

### **To SIR WILLIAM HOWE**

Camp Cambridge, December 18, 1775.

Sir: We have just been informed of a Circumstance, which, were it not so well Authenticated, I should scarcely think credible; It is that Col: Allen, who with his small party, was defeated and taken Prisoner near Montreal, has been treated, without regard to decency, humanity, or the Rules of War; That he has been thrown into Irons and suffers all the Hardships inflicted upon common Felons.

I think it my Duty Sir, to demand and do expect from you an Ecclaireissement on this Subject; at the same Time I flatter myself, from the Character which Mr. Howe bears, as a man of Honor, Gentleman and Soldier, that my demand will meet with his Approbation: I must take the Liberty also of Informing you, that I shall consider your silence, as a confirmation of the Truth of the report; And further assuring you that whatever Treatment Colonel Allen receives; whatever fate he undergoes, such exactly shall be the Treatment and Fate of Brigadier Prescott, now in our Hands.

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The Law of Retaliation, is not only justifiable, in the Eyes of God and Man, but absolutely a duty, which in our present circumstances we owe to our Relations, Friends and Fellow Citizens.

Permit me to add Sir, that we have all here the highest regard and reference for your great personal, Qualities and Attainments, and that the Americans in general esteem it not as the least of their Misfortunes, that the name of Howe; a name so dear to them, should appear at the Head of the Catalogue of the Instruments, employed by a wicked Ministry for their destruction.

With due Respect I have the Honor to be, etc.

P.S.: If an Exchange of Prisoners taken on each Side, in this unnatural Contest, is agreeable to General Howe, he will please to Signify as much, to his Most Obedient.<sup>67</sup>

67. Congress by a resolve (December 2) had directed Washington to obtain the exchange of Allen. Howe did not feel himself authorized to hold exchange negotiations without directions from England. Washington's words apparently touched a tender spot, for Howe replied (December 25): "It is with regret, considering the character you have always maintained among your friends, as a gentleman of the strictest honor and delicacy, that I find cause to resent a sentence in the conclusion of your letter, big with invective against my superiors, and insulting to myself, which should obstruct any further intercourse between us." This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

### **To MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER**

Cambridge, December 18, 1775.

Dear Sir: Your Favours, the first of the 28th. Ulto. and the two last of the 9th. Inst., with their Inclosures, I received. I am happy to hear of your being better and heartily wish that you may soon be perfectly recovered from your Indisposition.<sup>74</sup>

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I should have been very glad, if Mr. Carleton had not made his Escape. I trust e'er long he will be in our Hands, as I think we shall get Possession of Quebec, from whence he will not easily get away.

I am much concerned for Mr. Allen, and that he should be treated with such Severity. I beg that you will have the Matter and Manner of his Treatment strictly inquired into, and transmit me an Account of the same, and whether General Prescott was active and instrumental in occasioning it. From your Letter, and General Montgomery's to you, I am led to think he was. If so, he is deserving of our particular Notice, and should experience some Marks of our Resentment for his Cruelty to this Gentleman, and his Violation of the Rights of Humanity.

As some of the Prisoners have attempted to escape, I doubt not of your giving necessary Orders, that they may be prevented. It is a Matter that should be attended to.

In a Letter from the Reverend Doctor Wheelock of Dartmouth College, of the 2nd. Instt., I had the following Intelligence. "That the Day before, two Soldiers returning from Montreal, informed him, that our Officers were assured by a Frenchman, (a Captain of the Artillery whom they had taken Captive) that Major Rogers<sup>75</sup> was second in Command under General Carleton, and that he had been in an Indian Habit through our Encampment at St. John's; had given a Plan to them to the Generals, and supposed that he made his Escape with the Indians that were at St. John's." You will be pleased to have this Report examined into, and acquaint me as to the Authenticity or Probity of the Truth of it. If any Circumstances can be discovered to induce a

74. These letters are in the *Washington Papers*. Schuyler's of November 18 describes General Carleton's escape: "The Evening before General Montgomery landed on the Island of Montreal, Mr. Carleton embarked his Garrison on Board of some Vessels and small Craft, and made two Attempts to pass our Batteries near the Mouth of Sorel, but was driven back by Colo. Easton, who has behaved with Bravery and much Alertness:

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On the 19th Mr. Carleton, disguised as *En Canadien*, and accompanied by six Pea ants, found Means to make his Escape, Brigadier-General Prescott surrendered next Day by Capitulation.”

75. Maj. Robert Rogers, of Rogers Rangers, the famous frontier corps of the British Army in the French and Indian War. By the time of the American Revolution he was advanced in years, and though he sided with the British he accomplished nothing in an active way.

Belief that he was there, he should be apprehended. He is now in this Government.

The Congress have sent me several Accounts against the Rifle Companies, one of which is against Captain Morgan, which I inclose you, and desire it may be transmitted to Colo. Arnold, who will have proper Steps taken for the Payment of it, as Captain Morgan is with him.

I flatter myself that your next Favour will give me an Account of General Montgomery's joining Colo. Arnold and that Quebec is or soon will be reduced to our Possession. Should our Arms be crowned with such Success, to me it appears, that Administration will be much embarrassed and stand in a very disagreeable Predicament. I am, &c.

### **To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

Cambridge, December 18, 1775.

Sir: Captain Manly of the Lee Armed Schooner took and sent into Beverly, the Sloop Betsey, A. Atkinson, master; she is an Armed Vessel, dispatched by Lord Dunmore with Indian corn, potatoes and oats, for the Army in Boston. The Pacquets of Letters found on board, I have the Honor to send you with this, by Captain Chambers.<sup>68</sup> They being of so much Importance that I do not think it would be prudent to trust them by a common express. As Lord Dunmore's Schemes are fully laid open in these Letters, I need not point out to the Congress the necessity there is of a vigorous exertion being adopted by them to

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dispossess his Lordship of the strong hold he has got in Virginia; I do not mean to dictate, I am sure they will pardon me for freely giving them my Opinion, which is, that the fate of America a good deal depends on his being obliged to evacuate Norfolk this winter or not. I have Kirkland,<sup>69</sup> well secured and think I will send him to you for examination, by most of the Letters relative to him, he is a dangerous fellow; John Stewards papers are of a very Interesting nature. Governor Tonym's and many other Letters from Augustine,<sup>70</sup> shew the Weakness of the place, at the same time of what vast consequence It would be for us to possess ourselves of it, and the great quantity of Ammunition contained in the forts. Indeed, these papers are of so great consequence, that I think this but little Inferior to any prize our famous Manly has taken. We now Work at our ease on Leechmore's Hill; on discovering our Party there Yesterday the Ship, which lay opposite, began a cannonade, to which Mount Horem added some shells.

68. Capt. James Chambers, of Thompson's rifle regiment, Only a few of the Dunmore letters have survived in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, and these particular ones are difficult to identify.

69. Colonel Kirkland was described by Lord Dunmore as an American “truly well-disposed to his Majesty's service,” a man of “real worth and spirit.”— *Ford*.

70. The committee of Congress to which this Washington letter was referred reported Jan. 1, 1776, and their report was adopted as follows:

“Resolved, That the seizing and securing the barracks and castle of St. Augustine will greatly contribute to the safety of these colonies, therefore, it is earnestly recommended to the colonies of South Carolina, North Carolina and Georgia to undertake the reduction of St. Augustine, if it be thought practicable.”

“Resolved, That the first resolution together with copies or extracts of such of the intercepted letters as tend to show the state of the forts and garrison at St. Augustine be transmitted by express to Henry Middleton and John Rutledge Esqrs members of



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Congress to be by them laid before the committees directed to meet [at Charleston] in consequence of the above resolution and in case the enterprize be judged practicable that immediate preparations be made by the joint force of the said colonies (viz South Carolina, North Carolina and Georgia) and the expedition be undertaken without delay at the expence of the united colonies.”

One of our men was wounded, we fired a few Shot from 2 Eighteen pounders on Cobble Hill and soon Obliged the Ship to shift her station, she now lies in the ferryway, and except a few Shells from the Mount in Boston, which do no Execution, we have no Interruption in prosecuting our Works, which in a very short time will be compleated. When that is done: when we have powder to sport with, I think if the Congress resolve on the proposal made relative to the Town of Boston, It can be done.

I have sent a Letter in this day to General Howe of which a Copy goes with this: my reason for pointing out Brigadier General Prescott as the object who is to suffer Mr. Allen's fate, is, that by Letters from General Schuyler and Copies of Letters from General Montgomery to Schuyler, I am given to under stand that Prescot is the cause of Allen's sufferings. I thought it best to be decisive on the Occasion, as did the Generals whom I consulted thereon. The returns of men inlisted since my last, amount to about 1800, making in the whole 7,140. The Militia that are come in from this Province and New Hampshire, are very fine looking men and go through their duty with great alacrity; the dispatch made both by the people in marching and by the Legislative Powers in complying with my requisition, has given me infinite satisfaction. Your Letter of the 8th instant with the Explanatory resolves, respecting my calling forth the Militia and Minute Men, is come to hand, to which I shall pay all due Attention. You have removed all the difficulties which I laboured under about the two Battalions of Marines; I shall obey the Orders of Congress in looking out for proper Officers to command that Corps. I make no doubt but when the Money arrives, to pay of the arrears and the month's advance, that it will be a great encouragement for the men to Inlist. Inclosed is a Letter I lately received from Mr. James Lovell,<sup>71</sup> his case is truly pitiable, I wish some mode could be fallen upon to relieve him from the cruel Situation

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he is now in. I am sensible of the impropriety of exchanging a Soldier for a Citizen, but there is something so cruelly distressing in regard to this Gentleman, that I dare say you will take in under your consideration.<sup>72</sup> I am &ca.<sup>73</sup>

71. Lovell was, later, a Delegate from Massachusetts to the Continental Congress. He ill requited Washington's efforts by a display of enmity throughout his service in Congress.

72. See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Jan. 5, 1776.

73. This letter was read in Congress (December 30) and referred to Thomas Lynch, William Hooper, George Wythe, Silas Deane, and John Adams. On December 19 Washington wrote again to Congress, a mere forwarding letter inclosing one that had just reached him disclosing further the views of Lord Dunmore. (See Washington's letter to Congress, Jan. 30, 1776, *post.*)

### To GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE

Cambridge, December 20, 1775.

Sir: The Letter accompanying this was wrote before your favor of the 19th. pr. Express came to hand. Under my present Instructions, and more especially in my present situation, I could not justify the Sending a Regiment from these lines to you; unless there was an apparent design of Landing a body of Ministerial Troops on Rhode Island; at present I do not think this is to be apprehended, as a deserter out of Boston since my last, is particular in declaring that only four Companies, amounting to little more than 100 Men, Embarked as was said for Halifax; agreeing with others that Invalids and the Officers of the 18th and 59th Regts. who are going home to recruit, had sailed for England.

The intention of my last, containing the Information as it was received, was only designed to put you upon your guard, not that I expected a Visit was intended you. If any small body of Troops move from hence, Southerly, I have no expectation of their Stopping short

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of Virginia; unless it should be on a Pillaging party. To conclude Sir, when I inform you, that I have been obliged to call in 5000 Militia, to supply the deficiency of the Connecticut Regiments and those absent upon Furlough, you will do me the justice to believe, that not a want of inclination but of ability, prevents me from complying with your request; unless as is before observed, I had some obvious reasons to believe, the Visit of more men, than we

are well assured are embarked, was intended for your Government. I am with very great esteem and Regard, Sir &c.

**To MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER**

Cambridge, December 24, 1775.

Dear Sir: Your Favour of the 15th. Instt. came Yesterday to Hand, with Copies and Extracts of your late Letters to Congress. I have with great Attention perused them. I am very sorry to find by several Paragraphs, that both you and General Montgomery incline to quit the Service. Let me ask you, Sir, when is the Time for brave Men to exert themselves in the Cause of Liberty and their Country, if this is not? Should any Difficulties that they may have to encounter, at this important Crisis, deter them? God knows, there is not a Difficulty that you both very justly complain of, that I have not in an eminent Degree experienced, that I am not every Day experiencing; but we must bear up against them, and make the best of Mankind as they are, since we cannot have them as we wish. Let me, therefore, conjure you and Mr. Montgomery, to lay aside such Thoughts, Thoughts injurious to yourselves, excessively so to your Country, which calls aloud for Gentlemen of your Abilities.

You mention in your Letter to Congress of the 20th. Ulto. that the Cloathing was to remain at Albany, as General Montgomery would provide the Troops in Canada. I wish they could

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be spared for this Army, for we cannot get Clothing for half of our Troops. Let me hear from you on this Subject as soon as possible.

The Proofs you have of the Ministry's Intention to engage the Savages against us, are incontrovertable.<sup>77</sup> We have other Confirmations of it, by several Dispatches from John Stuart, the Superintendent for the Southern District, which luckily fell into my Hands, being found on Board a Sloop, sent by Lord Dunmore, bound to Boston. She was taken by one of our armed Vessels. These, with many Letters of Consequence from his Lordship, I have lately sent to the Congress.

I hope soon to hear that Colonel Knox has made good Progress in forwarding the Artillery. It is much wanting for the

<sup>77</sup>. Schuyler wrote to Washington (December 15) informing him of Guy Johnson's efforts to rouse the Six Nations against the Colonies. Schuyler had written to Congress (December 14) to the same effect.

Works we have lately thrown up. I have wrote a Letter the 18th. Instt. to General Howe respecting Mr. Allen, of which, and the Answer you have Copies inclosed. I am, With great Regard, Sir, Yours, &c.

### **To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

Cambridge, December 25, 1775.

Sir: I had the Honor to address myself to you the 19th instant; since which I have received undoubted Information, that the genuine instructions given to Conolly, have not reached your hands, that they are very artfully concealed in the tree of his Saddle and covered with canvass so nicely that they are scarcely discerned, that those which were found upon him, are intended to deceive if he should be caught; you will certainly have his Saddle taken to peices in order to discover this deep laid plot.<sup>78</sup> Inclosed is a Copy of General Howe's

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Letter in Answer to the one I wrote him the 18th instant; The Conduct I am to observe towards Brigadier Prescott, in consequence of these Letters, the Congress will Oblige me by determining for me. The Gentlemen by whom you sent the Money are arrived; the sum they brought tho' large, is not sufficient to answer the demands for the Army, which at this time are remarkably heavy. There is three months pay due; one month advance; Two Dollars for each Blanket; The Arms which are left by those who are dismissed, to be paid for, besides the demands on the Commissary and Quarter Master Generals. You will therefore see the necessity of another remittance, which I beg may be soon as you conveniently can.

I will take the Opportunity of the return of these Gentlemen to send Col: Kirkland to you for examination and that you may dispose of him, as to you may seem proper.

A Committee from the General Court of this Province called on me the other day, Informing me, that they were in great want of Ordinance for the defence of the Colony. That if what belonged to them, now in use here, was kept for the Continent,

78. Ford notes that Allen Cameron, Dr. John Smith (or Smyth), and John Connolly were apprehended at Hagerstown, Md., by the committee of Frederick County, Md., and some incriminating documents found on them. Connolly had been commissioned by Gage to raise a company in the back country and Canada and was arrested when on his way to the Delaware Indians bearing a speech from Dunmore to enlist their efforts against the colonists. Cameron was to be appointed a lieutenant and Smith a surgeon in the new company. Both were Scotchmen. Connolly was kept a prisoner till the end of the war. A narrative of his experience is printed in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (1888–89).

they will be under the necessity of providing themselves with others. Of course what is kept, must be paid for. There are many of the Cannon, of very little use, But such of them as are good, I cannot at present part with; perhaps when I receive the supply from

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New York and Canada, It may be in my power. Mr. Wadsworth<sup>79</sup> has sent in his report respecting Cape Cod Harbour, Copy of which you will receive herewith; also a Letter which Colonel Little put into my hands from a Mr. Jacob Bailey to him, It contains some things that may be worthy the consideration of Congress.

We have made good Progress in the Works on Leechmore's Point, they would have been er'e this finished, but for the severity of the Weather, which prevents our people from Working.

I received a Letter from Governor Cooke, which expresses the fears of the People of Rhode Island, least the Ships which we had Information were sailed with some Troops on Board were destined for Newport; I sent Major General Lee there, to point out to them, such defence as he may think the place capable of, I sincerely wish he may be able to do it with effect, as that place in its present State is an Asylum for such as are disaffected to America Liberty<sup>80</sup> Our return of Inlistments to this day amount to 8500 men. I have the Honor &ca.

P.S. Inclosed is an Estimate of the demands of the Army.<sup>81</sup>

A gross calculation of the sum wanted to pay off the army upon the old establishment and to pay one month's pay advance to the new established regiments, with the other necessary contingent and incidental charges.

To the pay of 34 old regiments for the months of October, November and December, averaged at £3500 each regiment £119,000

To the regiment of artillery for the same time 3,960

To the pay of 27 regiments, new establishment, for the month of January, at 1618.12 each, 43,502

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79. Peleg Wadsworth.

80. Intelligence had been received from Boston that eight large ships and two small ones sailed out of the harbor on the 16th. Four days afterwards General Lee set off for Newport, attended by a guard and a party of riflemen. He went and returned through Providence, and was absent from camp 10 days. Besides giving directions respecting the fortifications and other means of defense at Newport, he called before him several obnoxious persons, and tendered to them the oath of fidelity to the country. Two customhouse officers and another person, refusing to take the oath. were put under guard and sent to Providence—*Sparks.*

81. In the writing of Stephen Moylan.

To the regiments of artillery for January 1, 1779: 16

To 1376 dollars advanced each of the new corps to purchase blankets 11,145: 15

To a company of artificers for 4 months 880: 8

To purchase of arms for the new regiments 15,500

To the pay of 5000 militia for six weeks 20,000

To the demands of the commissary general 50,000

To ditto of the quartermaster general 5,000

To 4 months' expence of general Hospital estimated at 4,000

To do. of the General and Staff Officers, estimated at 3,260: 16

Lawful money £278,228: 15

reduced to dollars amount to 927,429#

N. B. The five Connecticut regiments upon the old establishment are not included in the above account, they being gone home, and will be cleared off by the colony. The above and foregoing Estimate sent to the Hon. John Hancock in the letter which is entered before it.

## **To THE MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE**

Cambridge, December 29, 1775.

Gentn.: Having never considered the four independent Companies, which have been doing duty at Braintree, Weymouth and Hingham, in the same point of view, as the rest of the Army; altho some orders may have gone to or for them, Thro' the hurry of business, nor Included them in my returns to Congress, according to the Brigade Major's report from Roxbury; I do not think myself authorised to direct pay for them, without first laying the matter before Congress, which I shall do, by inclosing an exact transcript of your representation of the case, with this single remark, that is they were not Regimented, and were doing duty at some distance from these Camps; I did not know whether to consider them, as part of the Continental Army, and therefore had not ordered them payment heretofore.<sup>85</sup>

85. Ford notes Samuel Adams's letter to John Adams (Jan. 15–16, 1776) on this point: "I have the opportunity of acquainting you that Congress has just received a letter from General Washington enclosing a copy of an application of our General Assembly to him to order payment to four companies stationed at Braintree, Weymouth and Hingham. The General says they were never regimented, and he cannot comply with the request of the Assembly without the direction of Congress: A committee is appointed to consider the letter, of which I am one. I fear there will be a difficulty, and therefore I shall endeavor to prevent a report on this part of the letter, unless I see a prospect of justice being done



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to the Colony, fill I can receive from you authentic evidence of those companies having been actually employed by the Continental officers, as I conceive they have been in the service of the Continent. I wish you would inform me whether the two companies stationed at Chelsea and Malden were paid out of the Continent's chest. I suppose they were; and if so, I cannot see reason for any hesitation about the payment of these."

With respect to the other requisition, contained in your Resolve of the 20, I do not think myself at Liberty to extend the guards of this Camp, beyond Squantum and Chelsea, both fit places for Observation. This was my Sentiment of the matter, when the Committee did me the honor to call yesterday; But as it appeared to be of some importance to this Government, I did not care to determine upon it, without asking the opinion of some of the Principal Officers in this Army, whose sentiments I am happy to find, coincide with my own.

This might be assigned as one among other reasons, to shew that I did not consider these four Companies as part of the Continental Troops; That there were times, in the course of the past Summer, when I should not have Suffered them to have remained at the places they were posted, If I had conceived myself vested with Power to have withdrawn them.

I would not have it inferred from hence, that I do not think it my duty and with the greatest chearfullness, shall undertake to March Troops, If these Lines are not be exposed by it, to any Place in this or the Neighbouring Governments, to oppose an Invasion; But whilst the body of the Ministerial Troops continue in Boston, and the Circumstances of this Army remain as they are, It must be my first object to guard these Lines. I am with great respect. Gentn. &c.

### **To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

Cambridge, December 31, 1775.

Sir: I wrote you the 25th. instant, since which I am not honored with any your favors. The estimate I then inclosed you was calculated to pay the Troops &ca. up to the 1st. of

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January: that cannot be done for want of funds in the Pay Master General's hands, which causes a great murmuring amongst those who are going off. The Monthly expences of this Army amount to near 275,000 Dollars, which I take the Liberty of recommending to the Observation of Congress, that their future remittances may be Governed thereby.

It sometimes happens that persons would wish to deposit money in the Hands of the Paymaster General for his Bills on the Treasury in Philadelphia: he has hitherto declined such Offers, not having authority from Congress to draw; would it not be proper to give this Power? If it should be approved of, you will be pleased to point out the mode; that the Congress would chuse to have it done in.<sup>86</sup> The Clothing sent the Quarter Master General, is not sufficient to put half of our Army into Regimentals, nor is there a possibility of getting any Quantity here, I have wrote to Genl. Schuyler that I wish what was lodged at Albany, could be spared for these Troops, as General Montgomery would cloth the Men under his Command, at Montreal. If this can be done, It will be of infinite service, and no time should be lost in forwarding them to this Camp. In forming the Regiments for the New Establishment, I thought it but Justice to appoint the Officers detached under Col: Arnold, to commissions in them. Their absence at present is of very great detriment, especially in recruiting. I would therefore wish if the Congress intend raising Troops in or for Canada, that they could be taken in there: The sooner I have their Opinion of this matter, the better; That if they can be commissioned in Canada, I may appoint Officers here to replace them. Inclosed you have a Copy of a Representation sent to me by the Legislative Body of this Province, respecting four companies stationed at Braintree, Weymouth and Hingham; as they were never Regimented and were doing duty at a distance from the rest of the Army, I did not know whether to consider them as part of it, nor do I think myself authorized to direct payment for them without the approbation of Congress.

86. See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Jan. 16, 1776.

It has been represented to me, that the free Negroes who have served in this Army, are very much dissatisfied at being discarded. As it is to be apprehended that they may seek

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employ in the Ministerial Army, I have presumed to depart from the Resolution respecting them and have given licence for their being enlisted, If this is disapproved by Congress I shall put a stop to it.<sup>87</sup>

I believe Colonel Gridly expects to be continued as Chief Engineer in this Army. It is very certain we have no one here better Qualified, he has done very little hitherto in that department, But if the Congress chuse to appoint him, I will take care that he pays a proper attention to it. Before I quit this Subject I must remark, that the pay of the Assistant Engineers is so very small, that we cannot expect Men of Science will engage in it, those Gentlemen who are in that station, remained under the expectation that an Additional allowance would be made them by the respective provinces in which they were appointed, to that allowed by Congress.

Capt: Freeman<sup>88</sup> arrived this day at Camp from Canada, he left Quebec the 24th. Ult<sup>o</sup>. in consequence of General Carleton's proclamation, which I have the Honor to send you herewith.<sup>89</sup> he saw Col: Arnold the 26th. and says that he was joined by General Montgomery at point Aux Tremble the 1st. instant; that they were about 2000 strong, and were making every preparation for attacking Quebec. That General Carleton had with him about 1200 men, the majority Sailors.

That it was his Opinion the French would give up the place, If they get the same conditions granted to the Inhabitants of Montreal.

Capt: Adams of the Warren Armed Schooner sent into Marblehead, the Sloop Sally bound from Lisbon to New York, laden with 2 pipes and 126 Quarter Casks of Wine, the Sloop was made a prize by the Niger Man of War, some where near Bermuda, the Captain of which put his mate and five hands on Board with Orders to proceed to Boston, the Sloop and Cargoe belong to Mr. Peter Barberie of Perth Amboy in New Jersey.

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Captains Simple and Harbison take under then care Mr. Kirkland who appears to be a more illiterate and simple man, than his strong

87. Congress resolved (January 16): "That the free negroes who have served faithfully in the army at Cambridge, may be re-inlisted therein, but no others."

88. Capt. Edmund Freeman(?), of the New Hampshire Militia.

89. A copy of Carleton's proclamation, a broadside, printed in English and French, is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

recommendations bespoke him.

Captain Mathews and Mr. Robinson will accompany them, the two latter were prisoners taken by Lord Dunmore, who was sending them to Boston, from whence there is little doubt but that they would be forwarded to England, to which place I am credibly informed Captain Martindale and the crew of the Washington are sent, also Col. Allen and the Prisoners taken with him in Canada; this may account for General Howe's silence on the Subject of an Exchange of Prisoners mentioned in my Letter to him.

General Lee is just returned from his excursion to Rhode Island, he has pointed out the best method the Island would admit of for its defence, he has endeavoured all in his power, to make friends of those that were our Enemies; you have inclosed a specimen of his Abilities in that way for your perusal, I am of opinion that if the same plan was pursued through every Province, It would have a very good effect.<sup>90</sup>

I have long had it on my mind to mention to Congress, that frequent applications had been made to me respecting the Chaplain's pay, which is too small to encourage men of Abilities. Some of them who have left their Flocks, are Obligated to pay the parson acting for them more than they receive. I need not point out the great utility of Gentlemen whose lives and conversation are unexceptionable, being employed for that service in this Army.

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There are two ways of making it worth the Attention of such; one is, an advancement of their pay, the other, that one Chaplain be appointed to two regiments; this last I think may be done without Inconvenience,<sup>91</sup> I beg leave to recommend this matter to Congress whose sentiments thereon I shall impatiently expect.

Upon a further conversation with Captain Freeman, he is of Opinion that General Montgomery has with him near 3000 men including Col. Arnolds; he says that Lord Pitt had received repeated orders from his father to return Home; in consequence of which he had

90. "He [Lee] has taken the Tories in hand and sworn them by a very solemn oath that they would not, for the future, grant any supplies to the enemy, directly or indirectly, nor give them any kind of intelligence, nor suffer it to be done by others, without giving information." (See Greene's *Life of Nathanael Greene*, vol. 1, p. 125.)

91. Congress resolved (January 16) that there should be one chaplain to every two regiments, and that his pay should be \$33# a month.

embarked some time in October, with a Captain Greene, who was Master of a Vessel belonging to Philadelphia.

By a number of Salutes in Boston Harbour yesterday, I fancy Admiral Shulldham is arrived; two large Ships were seen coming in. Our Inlistments now amount to 9,650. The Gentlemen who were made Prisoners of by Lord Dunmore being left destitute of Money and necessities, I have advanced them one hundred Pounds lawful money, belonging to the Public, for which I have taken Captain Mathew's draft on the Treasury of Virginia, which goes inclosed. I am &ca.<sup>92</sup>

## To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Cambridge, January 4, 1776.

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Sir: Since my last of the 31st. ulto. I have been Honored with your favor of the 22d., inclosing sundry resolves, which shall in matters they respect, be made the rule of my conduct.

The Resolution relative to the Troops in Boston, I beg the favor of you Sir to assure Congress, shall be attempted to be put in execution, the first moment I see a probability of success, and in such a way as a Council of Officers shall think most likely to produce it, but if this should not happen as soon as you may expect or my wishes prompt to, I request that Congress will be pleased to advert to my situation, and do me the justice to believe, that circumstances and not want of Inclination are the cause of delay.<sup>99</sup> It is not in the pages of History perhaps to furnish a case like ours. To maintain a post within musket shot of the Enemy for six months together [without powder]<sup>1</sup> and at the same time to disband one Army and recruit another within that distance of twenty odd British regiments, is more than probably ever was attempted: But if we succeed as well in the latter, as we have

92. In the writing of Stephen Moylan. The letter sent inclosed the estimate printed following the letter

\*AN ESTIMATE OF THE CHARGE AND EXPENCE OF AN ARMY COMPOSED OF 15,000 PRIVATE MEN, WITH THE GENERAL, AND STAFF OFFICERS NECESSARY FOR SUCH A BODY OF INFANTRY

1 General in Chief, pr Month Allowance for his Table and Expences £90.0 .0

2 Maj. Genl. each 60 120

Allowance for the Maj. Genl. in separate Department 60

5 Brigadier Generals each £45 225

1 Adjutant General 30.10

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1 Quarter Master General 30

1 Commissary General 30

1 Pay master General 37 10

1 Deputy Pay master Genl. 20

1 Chief Engineer and 2 Assistants at the Grand Camp; the Chief at £20 the Assistants at £8 each 26 0 .0

1 Chief Engineer and 1 assistant on the New York Department 28.0 .0

3 Aid de Camps for the two Armies at £10 30

5 Brigade Majors at 10 50

1 Secretary for the Commr. in Chief 20 20

24 Battalions of 554 private men each—each Battalion coming to £1551.18 37245.12.0

24 Companies of Rifle men or light Infantry at £181.2 each 2346.8

10 Companies of Artillery, consisting of 57 Men each, Officers Included, at £143 19 each Compa. 1439.10

1 Superintendant of Artillery 10 0

20,000 Ration's of Provision's a 6d. each for one Month 15000

Transportation of them, Stores, &ca., will at a gross calculation, probably amount to one half the Expenditure of the Provision's, but this must be governed by Circumstances, so cannot, at present, be more exactly estimated 7500

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One Month's Expences £ 66427.10

For Months 464992.10

200 Barrls. of Powder a £12 24000

140 Tons of Lead a 30 42000

Shott, and shells with the necessary Atrails and repairs to be made to Artillery, for the two Armies 5000

Tents, Drums, and Colours, for the whole of the Troops 15000

Intrenching and Pioneers Tools 2000

Hospital, Medicines, Physician, Surgeons, Apothecary, with their necessary Attendants &ca. 6000

Unavoidable and Contingent Expences, which cannot be estimated, or foreseen; together with the Charge of Expresses, Building Boats and Batteaux Bridges, &ca. and the possibility of the Estimate falling short of the real expens. suppose the gross Sum of 28807.10 0

99. As far back as October Congress had been considering the idea of an attack on Boston. 'The committee of conference that visited Washington at his camp had submitted a report on the matter, and on Dec. 22, 1775, Congress debated the question in the Committee of the Whole. The resolve adopted that day was: "That if General Washington and his council of war should be of opinion, that a successful attack may be made on the troops in Boston, he may do it in any manner he may think expedient, notwithstanding the town and the property in it may thereby be destroyed."

1. Left blank in the original to guard against the danger of miscarriage.



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hitherto in the former, I shall think it the most fortunate event of my whole Life.

By a very Intelligent Gentleman a Mr. Hutchinson from Boston, I learn, that it was Admiral Shuldham, that came into the Harbour on Saturday last; That two of the five regiments from Cork are arrived at Halifax. Two others have sailed for Quebec (but what was become of them could not be told) and the other, the 55th had just got into Boston. certain It is also, that the greatest part of the 17th. regiment is arrived there, whether we are to conclude from hence, that more than five Regiments have been sent out, or that the Companies of the 17th arrived at Boston are part of the regiments destined for Halifax, and Quebec, I know not.

We also learn from this Gentleman and others that the Troops embarked for Halifax as mentioned in my Letter of the 16th. were really designed for that place, but recalled from Nantasker road upon advice being received of the arrival of the above Regiments there. I am informed of a Fleet now getting ready, under convoy of the Scarborough and Fowey Men of War, consisting of 5 Transports and 2 Bomb Vessels, with about 300 marines and several flatt Bottom'd Boats. It is whispered that they are designed for Newport, but generally thought in Boston, that they are ment for Long Island; and that it is probable they will be followed by more Troops, as the other Transports are taking in Water and lay, as others say in Nantasker road, to be out of the Ice.

A large Quantity of Biscuit is also baking.

As their real design cannot with certainty be known, I submit it with all due deference to the Superior Judgment of Congress, whether it would not be consistent with prudence to have some of the Jersey Troops, thrown into New York, to prevent an evil, which may be almost irremediable, if it should happen. I mean the landing of Troops at that place or upon long Island near it.

As it is possible you may not yet have received his

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Majesty's most gracious Speech, I do myself the Honor to enclose one of many, sent out of Boston Yesterday.<sup>2</sup> It is full of rancour and resentment against us, and explicitly holds forth his Royal Will to be, that vigorous measures are to be pursued for depriving us of our Constitutional Rights and Liberties. These Measures however Vigorous, I hope will be opposed by more vigorous ones, and rendered fruitless and unavailing, tho' Authorized and sanctified by the Name of Majesty, which ought to promote the happiness of his People and not their Oppression. I am &ca.<sup>3</sup>

### To GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE

Cambridge, January 6, 1776.

Sir: I received your favor of the 1<sup>st</sup>. Instant, and return you my thanks for the Blankets, and your promise of having more procured, as they are much wanted; I did not see Mr. Hale, who brought them, nor the account, or the money should have been transmitted you by his return. You will be pleased to draw on the Qr. Mr. General, and it shall be immediately paid. I have seen General Lee since his expedition, and hope that Rhode Island will derive some advantage from it.

I am told that Capt. Wallace's<sup>6</sup> Ships have been Supplied for some time with provisions by the Town of New Port, on certain conditions stipulated between him and the Committee. When this truce first obtained, perhaps it was right; then there might have been hopes of an accommodation taking Place; But now, when every prospect of it seems to be cut off by his Majesty's late speech, when the Throne, from which we had supplicated redress, breathes forth vengeance and indignation, and a firm determination to remain unalterable in its purposes, and to prosecute the System and plan of ruin formed by the Ministry against us; should not an end be put to it, and every possible method be fallen upon, to prevent their getting necessities of any kind? We need not expect to Conquer our Enemies by good Offices; and I know not what pernicious consequences may result, from a precedent of this Sort; other places, circumstanced as New Port is,

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2. No copy of the King's speech of October 27 has been found in either the *Papers of the Continental Congress* or the *Washington Papers*. A contemporary text, apparently a clipping, is among the Great Britain broadsides in the Library of Congress.

3. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison, Through inadvertence it was not signed.

6. The inhabitants of Rhode Island furnished Capt. John Wallace with supplies in a similar fashion to that of New York citizens in supplying Governor Tryon and the British ships in New York Harbor. In Rhode Island, however, the matter had, for protection, taken on an aspect of a truce.

As Wallace might "cannonade, and even burn the town, a discretionary power, by a private vote, which it is designed should be kept a profound secret, is given to the commander of the forces on Rhode Island, to permit supplies, in cases of imminent danger, until the next session." (See Governor Cooke's letter to Washington, Jan. 21, 1776, in the *Washington Papers*.)

may follow the example, and by that means, their whole Fleet and Army will be furnished, with what it highly concerns us to keep from them.

I received a Letter from Governor Trumbull, of the 1st. Inst., by which I am informed, that the Connecticut Assembly are very unanimous in the Common cause, and, among others, have passed an Act for raising and equipping a fourth of their Militia, to be immediately Selected by voluntary Inlistments; with such other able effective men, as are not included in their Militia Rolls, who incline to inlist, to act as Minute Men for their own, or the defence of any of the United Colonies, and this under proper encouragements. Another Act for restraining and Punishing persons Inimical to us and directing proceedings therein. No person to supply the Ministerial Army or Navy; to give them Intelligence; to Inlist or procure others to inlist in their Service, to pilot their Vessels, or in any way assist them; under pain of forfeiting his Estate, and an Imprisonment not exceeding three years. None to

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write, speak or Act against the proceedings of Congress, or their Acts of Assembly, under penalty of being disarmed and disqualified from holding any office, and be further punished by Imprisonment &c. For Seizing and Confiscating, for the use of the Colony, the Estates of those putting, or continuing to shelter, themselves under the protection of the Ministerial Fleet or Army, or assist in carrying on their measures against us. A Resolve to provide 2 armed Vessels, of 16 and 14 Guns, with a Spy Schooner of 4, and four Row Gallies; an Act exempting the polls of Soldiers from taxes, for the last and ensuing Campaigns. another for encouraging the making of Salt Petre and Gunpowder. A Considerable Quantity of both Mr. Trumbull hopes to make early in the Spring, he says the furnace at Middletown is smelting Lead, and likely to turn out 20. or 30. Tons, and that ore is plenty. They have also passed an Act, impowring the Commander in Chief of the Continental Army, or officers commanding a Detachment, or out

Posts, to administer an oath and swear any person or persons to the truth of matters relative to the public Service. The situation of our affairs seems to call for regulations like these, and I should think the other Colonies ought to adopt similar ones, or such of them as they have not already made; vigorous and such as at another time would appear extraordinary, are now become absolutely necessary, for preserving our Country, against the strides of Tyranny making against it.

Governor Trumbull, in his list, has not mentioned an Act for Impressing Carriages &c., agreeable to the recommendation of Congress; this I hope, they have not forgot, It is highly necessary that such an Authority should be given, under proper restrictions, or we shall be greatly Embarrassed, when ever the army, or any detachment from it, should find it necessary to march from hence. I am, etc.

**To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Cambridge, January 7, 1776.

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Sir: Your favor of the 1st Inst., I received and heartily thank you for your kind salutations. I was happy to hear of the great unanimity in your Assembly and of the several salutary Laws they passed, which shew them to be well attached to the common cause and to have taken proper measures, for supporting it.

Inclosed you have the Amount of the Lead from Crown point, agreeable to your request. The account of the Smelting furnace and your expectations to make a considerable Quantity of Salt Petre and powder pleases me much; I wish your most Sanguine endeavours may be more than answered.

As to Gun locks, it is not in my power to furnish any; the information you had was groundless, for there were no spare ones in the Ordnance Stores which fell into our hands, none were ever

found that I have heard of, nor is there mention of them in the Invoice.

Having undoubted intelligence, of the fitting out a Fleet at Boston and of the embarkation of Troops from thence, which from the Season of the year and other circumstances must be destined for some expedition South of this; and having such information as I can depend upon, that the Inhabitants of Long Island in the Colony of New York, or a great part of them, are Inimical to the rights and Liberties of America, and from their conduct and professions, have discovered an apparent Inclination, to assist in subjugating their fellow Citizens to ministerial tyranny: There is the greatest reason to believe, that this Armament, if not immediately design'd against the City of New York, is nevertheless intended against Long Island; and as it is of the utmost importance, to prevent the Enemy from possessing themselves of the City of New York and the North River, which would give them the Command of the Country and the Communication with Canada; I shall dispatch Major Genl Lee with orders to repair thither with such Volunteers, as are willing to join and can be expeditiously raised, (having no troops to spare from hence) to put the City and Fortifications on the North River, in the best posture of defence the Season

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and circumstances will admit of; and for disarming all such persons upon long Island or elsewhere, whose conduct and declarations, have rendered them justly suspected of designs unfriendly to the views of Congress. I have directed him to call upon the Commanding Officer of the Jersey Troops, for such Assistance as he can afford, and being informed by Capt. Sears and Mr. Woodward, who will deliver you this, and whom Genl Lee will follow in a day or two; that he apprehends 1000. or 1500. Volunteers, may be readily raised in your Government, in the Towns thro which Mr. Lee will pass; I beg the favor of you to Interpose your good offices and Interest in the Matter, to encourage men to go on this Important Service and as expeditiously as possible, for counteracting any designs our Enemies may have against us in that Quarter. Every necessary expence attending their March and Stay, will be borne by the public. I just received advice from Chelsea, about 9 or 10 Miles from this, that several Ships have sailed from Nantasket Road, that were lying there.r

I shall write to the Honorable the Convention of New York, by General Lee and direct his Instructions to be laid before them; praying their Assistance to facilitate the purposes of his going. I am Sir, etc.

Boxes of Lead 19½ abt. 270 each.

### **To THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY OF NEW YORK**

Cambridge, January 8, 1776.

Sir: Having undoubted intelligence of the fitting out of a fleet at Boston \*\*\*7 there is the greatest reason to believe that this Armament, if not designed immediately against the City of New York, is, nevertheless, Intended for Long Island. I have, therefore, thought it expedient to dispatch Major Genl. Lee, with such Volunteers as he can quickly Assemble on his March, (for I have not Troops to spare from hence, if the distance and Time would

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admit of it), to put the City of New York in the best posture of defence, the season and circumstances will admit of.

To his Instructions, which I have desired him to lay before you, I beg leave to refer; firmly persuaded that your Honorable body, will give every assistance in their power, to facilitate the end of his coming, as there needs no other Argument, than a retrospect view of the Conduct of the Ministerial Troops in Boston and the consequences resulting from it, to prove what a fatal stab it would give to the Interests of America, to suffer the City of New York to fall into the Hands of our Enemies. I am &c.

7. The omitted portion is the same as that in Instructions to Maj. Gen. Charles Lee, this same date.

### **To LORD STIRLING<sup>13</sup>**

Cambridge, January 10, 1776.

My Lord: Having received undoubted Intelligence of the fitting out of a Fleet from Boston, and of the Embarkation of Troops from thence, which from the Season of the Year and other Circumstances must be destined for some Expedition south of this; and having such Information as I can rely on, that the Inhabitants of Long Island or a great Part of them, are inimical to the Rights and Liberties of America, and by their Conduct and Professions have discovered an apparent Inclination to assist in subjugating their Countrymen and Fellow Citizens, to the System of Tyranny, Administration are attempting to establish; there is the greatest Reason to apprehend, that this Armament, if not immediately designed against the City of New York, is nevertheless intended for Long Island. Knowing it to be of the last Importance to the Interest of America, to prevent the Enemy from getting Possession of these Places, and the North River, which would give them the Command of the Country and a free Communication with Canada, I have dispatched Major General Lee with Orders to repair to New York, with such Volunteers as he can raise on his Way (having no Troops to spare from hence) to put the City and the Fortifications up the River in the best Posture

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of Defence, the season and Situation of Affairs will admit of; and for taking proper Steps against such Persons on Long Island and elsewhere, whose Conduct hath rendered them suspected of Designs unfriendly to the Views of Congress. I have directed him to apply to you for the Troops of New Jersey under your command in the Continental Pay or such of them as he may think necessary for effecting the Purposes of his going. I beg and am assured that you will afford him every Assistance in your Power, for facilitating this Business, as far as may be consistent or not repugnant to the Orders you shall have received from Congress, and with all possible Expedition. I am, My Lord, etc.

13. Col. William Alexander, called Lord Stirling. His claim to the earldom of Stirling was denied by the House of Lords. He was a native of New Jersey and at this time colonel of the First New Jersey Battalion. In March, 1776, he was raised to the rank of brigadier general.

### **To THE MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE**

Cambridge, January 10, 1776.

Gentn: In the confused and disordered state of this Army, occasioned by such Capital changes, as have taken place of late, I have found it almost impossible to come at exact returns of the strength of our lines.—Not till last night, was I able to get in the whole since the dissolution of the old Army; by these I find myself weaker than I had any Idea of, and under the necessity of requesting an exertion of your Influence and Interest, to prevail upon the Militia of this Government, now in the pay of the Continent, to continue till the last of the Month and longer if requisite. I am assured, that those of New Hampshire will not stay any longer than they engaged for; notwithstanding our weak state and the slow progress we make in recruiting, which, by the last week's report, amounts to but little more than half our usual compliment, owing, it is said, to the number of men going or expecting to go into the provincial Service, at or near their own homes.



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I am more and more Covinced, that we shall never raise the Army to the New Establishment by Voluntary Inlistments; It is therefore necessary that this and the neighbouring Governments should consider in time and adopt some other expedient for effecting it.

The Hurry I was in the other day, when your Committee did me the honor to present a petition from a person (whose name I have forgot) wanting to be employ'd in the Continental Army, prevented me from being as full on the subject as I wished.

I shall beg leave therefore, at this time to add, that I hope your Honorable Board will do me the justice to believe, that it will give me pleasure, at all times, to pay a proper respect to any recommendation coming from them, and that the reason why I do not now Encourage such kind of applications as was made, is, That the New Army was arranged, as near the plan and agreeable to the orders of Congress, (altho' some unavoidable departures and changes have taken place) as it was in my power to comply with; and the officers thus constituted ordered to recruit. Every attempt therefore of others, not of this appointment, must counteract and has been of infinite prejudice to the Service. They infuse Ideas into the minds of the Men, they have any influence over, that my engaging with them, or which is tantamount, not engaging with others, they shall be able to force themselves into the Service; of this we have numberless Instances; I am therefore Anxious to discourage every attempt of the kind, by Convincing

such persons, that their engaging a Company will not bring them in. If such persons could be once convinced of this, the business of the Army would go on more smoothly and with much more regularity and order. In short Gentlemen, It is scarce possible for me to convey to you, a perfect Idea of the Trouble and vexation I have met with, in getting this matter fixed upon some settled footing. One day an officer would serve, another he would not, and so on, that I have hardly known what steps to pursue, for preserving consistency and advancing the good of the Service, which are the only Objects I have in view; I have no

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friend I want to bring in, nor any person with whom I am the least connected, that I wish to promote. I am Gentlemen, etc.

### **To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

Cambridge, January 11, 1776.

Sir: Every Account I have out of Boston, confirms the Embarkation of Troops as mentioned in my last, which from the Season of the Year and other circumstances must be destined for some expedition to the Southward of this. I have therefore thought it prudent to send Major General Lee to New York, I have given him Letters recommentory to Governor Trumbull, and to the Committee of Safety of New York, there are good hopes that in Connecticut he will get many Volunteers, who I have some reason to think, will accompany him on this expedition, without more expence to the Continent than their maintenance, but should it be otherwise and that they will expect pay, I think it is a trifling consideration when put in competition with the importance of the object, which is to put the City of New York such parts of the North River and long Island as to him shall seem proper, in that state of defence, which the Season of the Year and

circumstances will admit of so as, if possible to prevent the Enemy forming a lodgment in that Government, which I am afraid contains too many persons disaffected to the cause of Liberty and America.—I have also wrote to Lord Stirling to give all the Assistance that he can with the Troops under his Command in the Continental Service, provided it does not interfere with any Orders, he may receive from Congress relative to them.

I hope the Congress will approve of my Conduct in sending General Lee upon this Expedition. I am sure I mean it well as experience teaches us, that it is much easier to prevent an Enemy from posting themselves, than it is to dislodge them after they have got possession.

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The Evening of the 8th. instant a party of our men under the command of Major Knowlton were ordered to go and burn some houses which lay at the foot of Bunkers Hill and at the head of Charles Town they were also ordered to bring of the Guard which we expected consisted of an officer and thirty men. they crossed the Mill dam about half after eight O'Clock, and gallantly executed their design having burnt eight Houses, and brought with them a Serjeant and 4 privates of the 10th regiment, there was but one man more there, who making some resistance they were obliged to dispatch. The Gun that killed him was the only one, that was discharged by our men, tho' several hundred were fired by the Enemy from within their Works; but in so confused a manner, that not one of our people was hurt. Our Inlistments go on very heavily. I am &ca.<sup>14</sup>

14. In the writing of Stephen Moylan.

### **To COLONEL ALEXANDER McDOUGALL**

Cambridge, January 13, 1776.

Sir: I received your Favour of the 2nd. Inst. last Evening and note what you mention of the Cannon.<sup>15</sup> I am in daily Expectation of Colonel Knox's Arrival and until he comes I cannot with Certainty inform you, whether I shall want the Iron Cannon or not.

Upon Examination of the Stores that were on Board the Brigantine, I find we stand in great Need of Shells, and shall esteem it a particular Favour, if you will immediately on Receipt hereof, forward the 1100. specified at the Foot of your Letter. I am told there is a Vessel arrived with you, that brought 20 Tons of Powder. I need not inform you of the great Necessity I am in for that Article. If it is true that this Quantity has arrived, it would be of infinite Service to the great Cause we are engaged in, that the whole or such Part thereof, as can be spared, was sent with the utmost Dispatch to this Camp. If it belongs to private Persons, I request you will purchase it; if to the Publick, your exerting your Influence with the Committee of Safety to effect this good Purpose, will very much oblige, Sir, etc.

**To THE MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE**

Cambridge, January 13, 1776.

Gentn: It is exceedingly painful to me, to give you so much trouble as I have, and am like to do, in the support of our Lines and arrangement of the New Army. But my difficulties, must in their consequences, devolve trouble on you.

To my very great surprize, I find that the whole number of Arms, which have been stopped from the discharged Soldiers, amount to no more than 1620; and of that number, no more than 120 are in store, the rest being redelivered to the Recruits which have come in. I also find, from the Report of the recruiting officers, that few Men are to be Inlisted, who have Arms in their hands, and that they are reduced to the Alternative, of either getting no Men, or Men without Arms. Unhappy Situation; what is to be done, unless these Governments will exert themselves in providing Arms from the Several Towns, or in such other manner, as to them shall seem speedy and effectual.

To account for this great deficiency, would be tedious and not much to the purpose,—Suffice it generally to say, that it has arisen from two causes;—the badness of the Arms of the old Army, which the Inspectors and Valuers of, did not think fit to detain; and to the disobedient

15. McDougall was at New York City.

Regiments, which in spite of every order I could Issue to the Contrary, (even to solemn threat of stopping the pay for the Months of November and December, of all those who should carry away their Arms) have, in a manner by stealth borne them away.

I am glad to hear, by a Gentn. of your Honble. Body, who does me the Honor to be the bearer of this Letter, that you have for sometime past been Collecting Arms at Watertown, whilst a good deal of dispatch has been used in making them elsewhere. I beg to know

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how many I can rely upon, as the recruits now coing in from the Country, will be useless without. It is to no purpose I find, to depend upon Imported Arms; what you can furnish, I must take in behalf of the Continent, and will upon Notice, send some Gentleman to receive them. Will it be prudent to apply to such of the Militia, as are going away, for their Arms? leaving It optional in them, cannot be amiss, but will the Necessity of the case Justify the policy of detaining them; I ask for Information. being with great truth etc.

### TO THE NEW HAMPSHIRE LEGISLATURE

Cambridge, January 13, 1776.

Sir: I am sorry, that I should have so often troubled you respecting this Army, and that I am under the necessity of applying to you again.

To my great surprise Sir, I find, that notwithstanding I have taken the utmost pains to prevent the soldiers that would not reenlist in the New Army from carrying away their Arms, or such of them as were good, that the whole number collected amounts only to 1620, of which there are no more than 120 now in store; the rest being delivered to the Recruits, which have come in.

I also find from the Report of the recruiting officers, that few men are to be inlisted, who have Arms in their Hands, and that they are reduced to the disagreeable alternative, of getting men without any, or no men at all. Unhappy situation! What is to be done? Must not these Governments exert themselves in procuring them from the several Towns, or in such other manner, as to them shall seem most effectual and Speedy.\*\*\*16

16. The omission is the same as the third paragraph in the letter to the Massachusetts Legislature of this same date.

The prospect of getting Imported Arms, is so remote and uncertain that I cannot depend upon it. I therefore request the favor of you, to inform me, whether you have any and what

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number belonging to the Government, as also If you will be able to procure more and in what time. If you have any or can get' them, I shall be glad to take them on account of the United Colonies. They must be had if possible. I have wrote to the Honble. Genl. Court of this province about the same, but have not received their Answer. Should any of your Militia be here, when I get your Answer, will it be prudent to apply to them for their Arms; leaving it optional in them cannot be amiss.—But will the necessity of the case justify an Involuntary detention of them? I ask for Information. I am Sir, &c.

### **To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

Cambridge, January 14, 1776.

Sir: I am exceedingly sorry, that I am under the necessity of applying to you, and calling the attention of Congress to the state of our Arms, which is truly alarming; Upon the dissolution of the old Army, I was apprehensive that the New would be deficient in this instance, and that the want might be as inconsiderable as possible, I gave it in Orders that the Arms of such men as did not reinlist, should be (or such of them as were good) retained at the prices which should be affixed by persons appointed to Inspect and value them: And that we might be sure of them, I added, that there would be a stoppage of pay for the Months of Novr. and Decr. from those, that should carry their Firelocks away, without there being first examined.

By these precautions I hoped to have procured a considerable Number: But Sir, I find with much concern, that from the badness of the Arms, and the disobedience of too many in bearing them off without a previous inspection, that a very few were collected; neither are we to expect that many will be brought in by the New Recruits: the Officers who are out inlisting, having reported, that few<sup>17</sup> men who have Arms will engage

17. This word is in the writing of Washington.

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in the Service, and that they are under the disagreeable alternative of taking men without Arms, or of getting none. Unhappy situation Indeed and much to be deplored! especially when we know, that we have to contend with a formidable Army, well provided of every necessary, and that there will be a most vigorous exertion of Ministerial vengeance against us, as soon as they think themselves in a condition for it. I hope it is in the power of Congress to afford us relief; If it is not, what must, what can be done?

Our Treasury is almost exhausted, and the demands against it, very considerable; a constant supply of money to answer every claim and exigency, would much promote the good of the Service; in the common affairs of Life, it is useful: In War, it is absolutely necessary and essential. I would beg leave too, to remind you of Tents and of their importance; hoping if an opportunity has offered, you have procured them.

I fear that our Army will not be raised to the New Establishment in any reasonable time, if ever; the Enlistments go on so very slow, that they seem almost at an end.

In my Letter of the 4th. instant I wrote you that I had received certain Intelligence from a Mr. Hutchinson and others, that 2 of the 5 regiments from Cork were arrived at Halifax, one at Boston and the other 2 had sailed for Quebec, and had not been heard of. I am now Assured as a matter to be relied on, by four Captains of Ships (who left England about the 2d of Novemr. and who appear to be men of veracity, that the whole of these regiments (except the three Companies, which arrived at Boston some time ago) when they sailed, were at Milford Haven where they had been Obligated to put in by a violent Storm the 19th of October; That they would not be able to leave it for a considerable time, being under the necessity of repairing their Vessels and taking some new ones up; such is the uncertainty and contradiction in what I now hear, that it is not possible to know, what to believe or disbelieve.

I wrote to the General Court yesterday and to the Convention of New Hampshire immediately on being acquainted with the great deficiency in our Arms, praying that they

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would Interest themselves in the matter, and furnish me with all in their power. Whether I shall get any or what quantity, I cannot determine, having not received their Answers. The same Application will be made to the Governments of Connecticut and Rhode Island.

I do myself the Honor to send you sundry news papers,

I received from the above mentioned Captains as they may be later than any you have seen, and contain some Interesting Intelligence. I have the Honor to be etc.<sup>18</sup>

### **To MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER**

Cambridge, January 16, 1776.

Dear Sir: Your Favour of the 5th. Inst. inclosing Copies of General Montgomery's and General Wooster's Letters, I received; for which I return you my Thanks.<sup>26</sup>

It was from a full Conviction of your zealous Attachment to the Cause of our Country, and Abilities to serve it, that I repeatedly pressed your Continuance in Command; and it is with much Concern, Sir, that I find you have Reason to think your holding the Place you do, will be of Prejudice and incompatible with it's Interest. As you are of this Opinion, the Part you are inclined to take is certainly generous and noble: but will the good Consequences you intend be derived from it? I greatly fear they will not.—I shall leave the Matter to yourself, in full Confidence, that in whatever Sphere you move, your Exertions for your Country's Weal, will not be wanting.

Whatever Proof you may obtain, fixing, or tending to support the Charge, against Mr. Prescott, you will please to transmit me by the first Opportunity.<sup>27</sup>

I am apt to believe the Intelligence given Doctr. Wheelock respecting Major Rogers, was not true;<sup>28</sup> but being much suspected of unfriendly Views to this Country, his Conduct should be attended to with some Degree of Vigilance and Circumspection.



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I confess I am much concerned for General Montgomery, and Col. Arnold; and the Consequences which will result from their Miscarriage, should it happen, will be very alarming. I fear no less fatal than you mention. However, I trust, that their distinguished Conduct, Bravery, and Perseverance will meet with the Smile of Fortune, and put them in Possession of this important Fortress. I wish their Force was greater, the Reduction would then be certain.

I am sorry that Ticonderoga, and Fort George should be left

18. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

26. Schuyler's letter of January 5 is in the *Washington Papers*. In it he stated his conviction that the jealousy of the Connecticut officers and troops was the deciding factor in his retirement. When Congress considered the Canadian situation (January 20) it ordered "That General Washington be desired to despatch a general officer, if he can be spared from the service at Cambridge, to command the army in Canada."

27. General Prescott was considered responsible for the harsh treatment of Ethan Allen and the prisoners taken with him at Montreal.

28. Rogers was believed to have been with the British troops in Canada and to have given information as to the strength of the American forces.

by the Garrisons, and that your recruiting Officers meet with such ill Success. It is too much the Case in this Quarter, and from the slow Progress made in enlisting, I despair of raising an Army to the new Establishment.—Should it be effected, it will be a long Time first.

Our Caghnawaga Friends are not arrived yet; I will try to make suitable Provision for them during their Stay, and use every Means in my Power to confirm their favourable

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Disposition towards us. They will not, I am fearful, have such Ideas of our Strength, as I could wish. This, however, shall be strongly inculcated.<sup>29</sup>

If Quebec is in our Possession, I do not see that any Inconvenience will result from Mr. Gamble's going there upon his Parole;<sup>30</sup> but if it is not, however hurtful it may be to him, however disagreeable to me, to prejudice the Interest of an Individual, I cannot consent to his Return. I am much distressed by other Applications of a like Nature. If Mr. Gamble's Request is granted, others in the same Situation will claim the same Indulgence. Further, I think a particular Exchange should not be made, and my Proposition for a general one, was rejected by Mr. Howe, or what is the same, it was unnoticed. I could wish that his Application had been to Congress. They might have complied with it, had they thought it reasonable.

I shall be much obliged by your sending, as expeditiously as you can, such Cloathing as you are able to spare. It's not being made up, is rather an Advantage, as it may be done here with some saving.

I am much pleased that the Artillery was like to be got over the River, and am in Hopes that Colonel Knox will arrive with it in a few Days. It is much wanted.

On reading the Copy of Genl. Wooster's Letter I was much surprised to find, that he had granted Furloughs to the Connecticut Troops under his Command, in Preference of Discharges. What Advantage could he imagine they would be of to the Continent, when they were at their own Homes? If he could not continue them in the Service they were upon, their Discharges would certainly have eased the Country of a considerable Expence. Giving you in Return the Compliments of the Season, and wishing you every Happiness, I am, etc.

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29. The Caughnawaga Tribe were located a few miles above Montreal, on the St. Lawrence River. Some chiefs had visited General Schuyler and wished to visit the main American camp at Cambridge.

30. Mr. Thomas Gamble was a deputy quartermaster general in the British Army. He was taken prisoner with General Prescott after the capitulation of Montreal.

### **To THE MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE**

Cambridge, January 16, 1776.

Genl.: Your several Resolves, in consequence of my Letters of the 10th and 15th inst., have been presented to me by a Committee of your Honble. Body.<sup>23</sup> I thank you for the assurances, of being zealously disposed to do every thing in your power to facilitate the recruiting the American Army, and at the same time that I assure you, I do not entertain a doubt of the truth of it, I must beg leave to add, that I conceive you have mistaken the meaning of my Letter of the 10th., if you suppose it ever was my Idea, that you should offer a bounty at the seperate expence of this Colony.

It was not clear to me, but that some coercive measures might be used on this, as on former occasions, to draft men to compleat the Regiments upon the Continental Establishment: But as this is thought unadviseable, I shall rely on your recommending to the selectmen and committees of Correspondence &c. to exert themselves in their several Towns, to promote the Inlistments for the American Army.<sup>24</sup>

In the mean while, as there is an appearance of this service going on but slowly, and it is necessary to have a respectable Body of Troops here as soon as possible, to act as circumstances shall require; I must beg that you will order in, with as much expedition as the Nature of the Case will admit of, Seven Regts. agreeable to the establishment of this Army, to continue in Service till the 1st of April, If required. You will be pleased to direct,

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that the Men come provided with good Arms, Blankets, Kettles for cooking, and if possible, with Twenty rounds of Powder and Ball.

With respect to your other resolve relative to arms, I am quite ready to make an absolute purchase, of such as shall be furnished either by the Colony or Individuals. I am also ready to engage payment for all the Arms, which shall be furnished by the Recruits, if lost in the Public Service; but I do not know how far I could be justified in allowing for the use of them; when I know it to be the opinion of Congress, that every Man shall furnish his own Arms, or pay for the use of them, if put

23. See Washington's letter to The Massachusetts Legislature, Jan. 10, 1776, *ante*. The letter of January 15 merely referred an expense account to the legislature for payment.

24. Ford quotes from James Warren's letter to Samuel Adams (January 14): "I think the service has suffered and the enlistments been embarrassed, by the low state in which you keep your treasury here. Had the general been able to have paid off the old army to the last of December, when their term expired, and to give assurances for the pay of the militia when their continuance in the army should end, it might have produced many good effects—among others added some thousands to the army. You will be surprised, perhaps, when I tell you there is but about 10,000 dollars here; and that left by the necessary parsimony of the general, not knowing what occasion there might be for a little. The time for which our militia came in, ends to-morrow. We have presumed so much on the public spirit of our countrymen as to make no other provision, though everything depends on their staying, and they wish to be at home. Our house adjourned yesterday morning, and the members went down among them to use their influence. I flatter myself most of them will stay to the last of this month." (See *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, vol. 14, p. 277.)

in his hands. To do otherwise, is an Indirect way of raising the pay. I again wish that the Honble: Court could devise some method of purchasing.

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I beg leave to return my thanks for the kind offer of Fifty thousand Pounds for the Continental use. I will accept of a Loan upon the terms mentioned, of half that sum; to secure payment of the Militia, whose time of Service will be up the last of this Month; till when I shall not have occasion to make use of the Money. I am etc.

### **To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Cambridge, January 16, 1776.

Sir: The alarming and almost defenceless state of our Lines, occasioned by the slow progress in raising recruits for the New Army, and the departure of a great number of Militia, which had been called in for their support, till the 15th. Inst., from this and New Hampshire Governments, rendered it necessary for us to summon the General Officers in Council, to determine on proper measures to be adopted for their maintainance and preservation. For this purpose they met at Headquarters yesterday and to day and finding that it was with the utmost difficulty and persuasion, that such part of the latter as are now here, had been prevail'd on to continue till the last of the Month; after which there is not the remotest probability of their staying one moment; they have judged it expedient and absolutely necessary that thirteen Regiments should be forthwith raised, equal to those of the New Establishment, to be officered according to the usual mode of their respective Governments, which are to repair to this Camp by the last instant if possible; to be in readiness to Act in such manner and till the 1st April, as Circumstances may require. Of this number, they apprehend the Massachusetts should furnish seven, your Government four and New Hampshire two, being agreeable to the proportion settled by Congress.

In order that each Regiment may consist of a proper number of officers and men, I herewith send you a list for their regulation, as also of the Continental pay.

I must earnestly solicit your regard to Arms, Amunition, Blankets, Cloathing and Kettles, that they may come as well provided with these necessary articles as they can, particularly

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the first, of which I find to my great surprise and concern there is an amazing deficiency; notwithstanding I have used every precaution my Judgment could point out to procure them. Besides the Arms which these Regiments will bring with them I shall be particularly obliged by your furnishing me for the use of the Continent with such others, as you have or can Collect. If you have any, or can get them made, you will please to inform me of the Quantity. These Governments I hope will exert themselves in this instance. they must be had, or what can, what will be done.

The great and constant attention Sir, which you have shewn on all occasions to promote the public cause, affords me the strongest assurance, that your every exertion and Interest will be employed, to comply with these several requisitions. I am Sir, &c.

### **To THE NEW HAMPSHIRE LEGISLATURE**

Cambridge, January 16, 1776.

The alarming and almost defenceless state of our Lines, occasioned by the slow progress of raising recruits for the New Army and the departure of a great number of the Militia, which had been called in for their Support, till the 15th Instant, from this and New Hampshire Governments; rendered it necessary for me to Summon the General Officers in Council, to determine on proper measures to be adopted for their maintenance and preservation.

For this purpose, they met at Head Quarters yesterday and to day and finding that it was with the utmost difficulty and persuasion that such part of the latter, as are now here, had been prevailed on to continue till the last of the Month; after which there is not the remotest probability of their staying one moment; they have judged it expedient and absolutely necessary, that thirteen Regiments should be forthwith raised, equal to those of the New Establishment, to be officered according to the usual mode of their respective Governments, which are to repair to this Camp by the last Instant, if possible, to be in readiness to act in such manner and till the 1st of April, as circumstances may require; of

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this Number they apprehend the Massachusetts should furnish seven, Connecticut four, and your Government two, being agreeable to the proportion settled by Congress.

In order that each Regiment may consist of a proper number of officers and men, I herewith send you a list for their regulation, as also of the Continental Pay.

I must earnestly solicit your regard to Arms, Amunition, Blankets, Clothing and Kettles, that they may come as well provided with these necessary Articles as they can, particularly the first; of which I find, to my great surprize and concern, there is an amazing deficiency; notwithstanding, I have used every precaution my judgment could point out, to procure them.

The great and constant attention Sir, which you have shewn upon all occasions to promote the public cause, affords me the strongest assurance, that your every exertion and Interest will be employed, to comply with these several requisitions. I am Sir &c.

### **To GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE**

Cambridge, January 16, 1776.

Sir: It is exceedingly painful to me, that I should have so often troubled you respecting this Army, and that I am under the necessity of applying to you again; but you must in some measure be Involved in whatever difficulties attend me, in this instance.

To my great surprise Sir, I find that notwithstanding I have taken the greatest care to prevent the Soldiers that would not reinlist in the New Army, from carrying away their Arms or such of them as were good; that the Number collected is trifeling and inconsiderable, of which there are but few, if any, now in store, they being delivered

to the Recruits that have come in. \*\*\*<sup>25</sup> The prospect of getting Imported Arms is so remote and uncertain, that I cannot depend upon it: I therefore fore request the favor of you to inform me, whether you have any, and what number belonging to the Government;

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and also whether you will be able to procure more and in what time. If you have any or can get them, I shall be glad to take them on account of the Continent. They must be had if possible. I have wrote to the other New England Governments upon the same subject. I am Sir, etc.

### **To MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER**

Cambridge, January 18, 1776.

Dear Sir: I received your Favour of the 13th. Inst., with it's Inclosures, and am heartily sorry and most sincerely condole with you upon the Fall of the brave and worthy Montgomery and those gallant Officers and Men who have experienced a like Fate. In the Death of this Gentleman,

25. The omission is, practically, the first paragraph of Washington's letter to Congress, Jan. 14, 1776, *q. v.*

America has sustained a heavy Loss, having approved himself a steady Friend to her Rights, and of Ability to render her the most essential Services, I am much concerned for the intrepid and enterprising Arnold and greatly fear, that Consequences of the most alarming Nature will result from this well intended, but unfortunate Attempt. It would give me the greatest Pleasure, if I could be the happy Means of releiving our Fellow Citizens now in Canada, and preventing the ministerial Troops from exulting long and availing themselves of the Advantages arising from this Repulse. But it is not in my Power. Since the Dissolution of the old Army, the Progress in raising Recruits for the new, has been so very slow and inconsiderable, that five Thousand Militia have been called in for the Defence of our Lines. A great Part of these are gone Home again, and the rest induced to stay with the utmost Difficulty and Persuasion, though their going would render the holding of them truly precarious and hazardous, in Case of an Attack. In short I have not a Man to spare.



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In Order that proper Measures might be adopted, I called a Council of General Officers, and upon Mr. John Adams and other Members of Influence, of the General Court, and laid before them your Letter and Proposition.<sup>31</sup> After due Consideration of their Importance, they determind that the Colonies of Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Connecticut, should each immediately raise, a Regiment, to continue in Service for one Year, and to march forthwith to Canada, agreeable to the Rout proposed in your Letter to Congress. This Determination with a Copy of your Letter, and the several Inclosures, will be immediately transmitted to the different Governments, for raising these Regiments, which, I have Reason to beleive will be directly complied with, from the Assurances I have received, from such of the Members of Court as attended in Council, and the General Officers promising to exert their utmost Interest and Influence in their respective Colonies.

If these Regiments should not be raised so soon as I could wish; yet I would willingly hope, from the Accounts we have received, that Colonel Arnold and his Corps will be joined

31. Schuyler's letter is in the *Washington Papers*. It announced Montgomery's death, the wounding of Arnold, and suggested a speedy reenforcement of the troops in Canada. Schuyler also postponed his intended retirement.

Congress had already resolved, before the news of the failure of the attack on Quebec reached them, that nine battalions should be kept up and maintained the present year for the defense of Canada. The First Canadian Regiment, to be commanded by Col. James Livingston, was among these, and the Second Canadian Regiment, to be commanded by Col. Moses Hazen, had been authorized. The repulse of the American forces in Canada aroused a little more energy in considering the needs and situation of the Army, and, among other results, a committee was appointed to consider the advisability of establishing a war office. (See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, June 12, 1776.)

by a Number of Men under Colonel Warner, and from Connecticut, who, it is said, marched immediately on getting Intelligence of this melancholy Affair. If this Account be

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true, I trust, they will be in a Situation to oppose, and prevent Mr. Carlton from regaining Possession of what he has lost, and that upon the Arrival of the Reinforcement, to be sent from these Colonies, the City of Quebec will be reduced to our Possession. This must be effected before the Winter is entirely over, otherwise it will be exceedingly difficult if not impracticable, as the Enemy will undoubtedly place a strong Garrison there. Should this desirable Work be accomplished, our Conquest in that Quarter will be compleat; but yet, the Loss of the brave Montgomery will ever be remembered.

It gives me Pleasure to find that you will continue in Service, and afford your Assistance to relieve your Country from the Distress which at present threatens her in the North.

I am much obliged by your sending the Cloathing; but they are not yet arrived.

None of the Letters give an Account how this unfortunate Affair ended. In Colo. Campbell's Letter of the 31st. Ult. the Division which Colonel Green was in, he seems to think was in a very disagreeable Situation, and drawing it off at Night or throwing in a Party to sustain it, was an Object he had much in View. Here he stops. In his Letter of the 2nd. Inst. he says nothing about it; but I dread further Intelligence in the Matter.

Genl. Putnam is of Opinion, that it will be better for the Troops which may be raised in the western Part of Connecticut to go to Albany than the Rout you have mentioned, by Number Four,<sup>32</sup> and that you pointed out this Way upon a Supposition that the Reinforcement would be detached from this Army. If you concur in Sentiments with him, please to inform Governor Trumbull of it, by Letter, that he may give the necessary Orders. I am, etc.

32. Now Charlestown, in New Hampshire, on the Connecticut River.

### **To THE MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE**

Cambridge, January 19, 1776.

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Gentn.: The inclosures, herewith sent, convey such full Accounts, of the sad reverse of our affairs in Canada, as to render it unnecessary for me, in my present hurry, to add ought to the Tale.

Your spirited Colony will, I have no doubt, be sufficiently Impressed with the expediency of a vigorous exertion, to prevent the evils which must follow from the repulse of our Troops. It does not admit of a doubt, but that Genl. Carlton will improve this advantage to the utmost; And, if he should be able to give another Current of Sentiments to the Canadians and Indians, than those they seemed Inclined to adopt, words are unnecessary, to describe the Melancholly effect, that must Inevitably follow.

I am persuaded, therefore, that you will exert yourselves to the utmost, to throw in the reinforcement, by the Route mentioned in General Schuyler's Letter, that is now required of your Colony; as the doing of it expeditiously, may prove a Matter of the utmost Importance.

You will perceive, by the Minutes of the Council of War Inclosed, that the Regiment, asked of you for Canada, is one of the Seven applied for in my Letter of the 16th Inst., and that the only difference, with respect to the requisition, is the length of time and place of Service; as no good would result from sending Troops to Canada, for a shorter period than the Continental Army is raised for, to wit, till the first of January 1777. I am, Gentn. &c.33

33. Copies of the same letter were sent to the New Hampshire Legislature and to Gov. Jonathan Trumbull. They are in the writing of George Baylor.

### **\*To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

Cambridge, January 19, 1776.

Sir: Taking it for Granted that Genl. Schuyler has not only informed you of the fall of the brave, and much to be lamented Genl. Montgomerie, but of the Situation of our affairs in

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Canada (as related by Genl. Wooster, Colo. Arnold, Colo. Campbell and others) I shall not take up much more of your time on this subject, than is necessary to Inclose you a Copy of his Letter to me, with the result thereon, as appears by the Council of War, which I immediately summoned on the Occasion; and at which Mr. Adams, by my particular desire, was good enough to attend.

It may appear strange Sir, as I had not Men to Spare from these Lines that I should presume without first sending to Congress and obtaining an express direction, to recommend to the Governments of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, to raise each a Regiment on the Continental Acc't. for this Service. I wish most ardently that the urgency of the case would have admitted of the delay. I wish also, that the purport of General Schuylers Letter had not, unavoidably as it were, laid me under an indispensable obligation to do it.

For having inform'd you in his Letter (copy

of which he Inclosed me) of his dependance on this Quarter for Men, I thought you might also have some reliance on my exertions, this consideration added to my fears of the fatal consequences of delay; to an information of your having designed 3000 men for Canada; to a belief founded chiefly on General Schuyler's Letter, that few or none of them are raised; and to my apprehensions for New York, which led me to think that no Troops could be spared from that Quarter, induced me to loose not a moments time in throwing in a force there being well assured that General Carlton will improve to the utmost the advantages gain'd; leaving no Artifices untried, to fix the Canadians and Indians (who we find too well disposed to take part with the strongest) in his Interest.

If these reasons are not sufficient to justify my conduct in the opinion of Congress; If the measure contravenes any resolution of theirs, they will please to countermand the levying and marching of the Regiments as soon as possible and do me the justice to believe that, my intentions were good, If my judgment has erred.<sup>34</sup>

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The Congress will please also to observe, that the Measure of Supporting our Posts in Canada appear'd of such exceeding great Importance that the General Officers (agreeing with me in Sentiment and unwilling to lay any burthen which can possibly be avoided, although it may turn out an ill-timed piece of parsimony) have Resolved, that the three Regiments for Canada shall be part of the thirteen Militia Regiments which were requested to Reinforce this Army, as appears by the Minutes of another Council of War held on the 16th. Inst't.<sup>35</sup> I shall, being much hurried and fatigued, add to more in this Letter than

34. When the Congress took this letter into consideration, it was resolved that the conduct of the General in calling for these troops "was prudent, consistent with his duty, and a farther manifestation of his commendable zeal for the good of his country." (See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, January 29.)

35. The proceedings of the council of war are in the *Washington Papers*, as are those of the other council held on January 15, at which it was decided that the present force of the Continental Army was inadequate for an attack on Boston, and that the Commander in Chief should call on the neighboring colonies of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut for 13 militia regiments to serve until April 1.

my duty to Congress, and that I have the honour etc.

P. S. I Inclose you a Copy of my Letter to the Governments of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire also a Copy of a Resolution of this Colony in answer to an application of mine for Arms.

Since writing the above I have been informed by a Message from the Gen'l Court of Massachusetts that they have resolved upon the Raising of a Regiment for Canada, and appointed the Field Officers for it in the Western parts of this Government.

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I am also informd by Express from Governor Trumbull, that he and his Council of Safety had agreed upon the Raising of a Regiment for the same purpose, which was anticipating my application to that Government.

If Commissions (and they are applied for) are to be given by Congress to the three Regiments going to Canada you will please to have them forwarded as I have none by me for the purpose.

**To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Cambridge, January 20, 1776.

Sir: Your favor of the 18th. Inst., I received this day for which I return you my thanks.

Upon receiving the Melancholy Intelligence of the fall of the brave Montgomery and the repulse of our Troops, in their attempt against the City of Quebec; I called a Council of Genl. Officers to determine upon the necessary steps to be taken upon the alarming occasion; of their determination, I wrote you yesterday, to which I beg leave to refer you.

The early attention, which you and your

Honorable Council have paid to this Important business, has anticipated my requisition and claims in a particular manner the thanks of every well wishing American.

I am in hopes by this time, that several are on their March, and that with the Troops which will follow from your Government, this and New Hampshire; that our affairs in a little time in that Quarter, will wear a more promising aspect, than what they now do. I am Sir &ca.

**To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Cambridge, January 21, 1776.

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Sir: In the hurry of my last dispatches to you of the 19th Inst. I forgot to Intimate, that for the Encouragement of the Regt. destined for Canada, a Month's advanced pay will be allowed Officers and Soldiers by me, in behalf of the Congress. At the same time I think it but right, that you should be apprized of the Intention of this Government, to advance their Regt another Month's pay, to enable the men to provide for so long and fatiguing a March, and in the mean time have something for their families to subsist on, during their absence.

I have no doubt, but that this last advance will be pleasing to Congress, and that the Money will be speedily refunded; but as I have no Authority to direct it, and would not appear by any Act of mine, to put these three Regiments for Canada, upon a different footing from those, which have been raising for this Army; I only give you a hint of the Intention of this Government, if you think proper, that the Regiment from your Colony may be placed upon the same footing; as I know all kind of distinctions are considered by Troops with an evil and Jealous Eye.

Such necessaries, as are absolutely requisite for the Men of this Regiment, you will please to have provided upon the best terms you can, and a regular Account with Vouchers thereof kept, that payment may be made. The Importance

of dispatch, will I am persuaded, appear in so urgent and pressing a light to you, that I need add nothing on this head, but shall be glad to hear what progress you make in the business, being with the sincerest regard and esteem. Sir &c.<sup>37</sup>

**To MAJOR GENERAL CHARLES LEE**

Cambridge, January 23, 1776.

Sir: I received your Favour of the 16th. Instt. and am exceedingly sorry to hear, that Congress countermanded the embarkation of the two Regiments, intended against the Tories on Long Island.<sup>38</sup> They, I doubt not, had their Reasons; but to me it appears, that the Period is arrived, when nothing less than the most decisive and vigorous Measures

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should be pursued: Our Enemies from the other Side of the Atlantic, will be sufficiently numerous. It highly concerns us to have as few internal ones as possible.

As Congress seem to have altered their Views in this Instance, and the Men which went with you from Connecticut are upon a very different Footing from what I expected, it will be right to give Congress the earliest Notice of your Proceedings and to disband your Troops as soon as you think Circumstances will admit of it.<sup>39</sup>

In Consequence of the melancholy Reverse of our Affairs in Canada, an Application was made to me for Succour, and happy I should have been, if the Situation of this Army could have afforded it. All I could do was to lay the Matter before this and the Governments of Connecticut and New Hampshire, and urge the Expediency and Necessity of their sending a Reinforcement of three Regiments there immediately. Mr. Trumbull and his Council of Safety had anticipated my Request. The other two Colonies have adopted the Measure. The three Regiments are now raising, and I would willingly hope, will

37. The same letter was also sent to the New Hampshire Legislature.

38. A committee of the Continental Congress, on the State of New York, had been appointed (Dec. 28, 1775), and on its report Congress had withdrawn (January 3) all citizenship privileges from the inhabitants of Queens County who had not voted for delegates to the New York Legislature.

39. Ford notes that an account of General Lee's proceedings in New York will be found in the *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, vol. 1, pp. 74–88. The official proceedings, which show the opposition of the New York Congress and committee of safety to vigorous action, will be found in Force's *American Archives*, Fourth Series, vol. 4. The action of the Continental Congress was based upon the protests of the State authority.

arrive in Time to reinstate Matters in that Quarter and give them a more agreeable Aspect than they now have.



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I shall be much obliged by your pressing Colo. McDougall to forward the Shells mentioned in his Letter of the 2nd. Instr., as they are much wanted, and also to spare me some Powder if he possibly can. You know our Stock of this necessary Article is small and inconsiderable, and you know too that we have a Demand for a further Supply.

The Progress in raising Recruits for the new Army being very slow, I have applied to this Colony, Connecticut and New Hampshire, for ten Regiments of Militia, to continue in Service 'till the 1st of April next, which they have granted me. As soon as they come in, and I can get provided with proper Means, I am determined to attempt something. Of this I would have you take no Notice.

Within a few Days past several Persons have come out of Boston. They all agree that General Clinton is gone upon some Expedition. Some say he has between 4 and 500 Men, others, Part of two Regiments. What his Force consists of is not precisely known; but I am almost certain he is gone with some. His Destination must be south of this, and very probably for New York; I thought it necessary to give you this Information, that you may be on your Guard and prepared to receive him as well as you can.

I shall be glad to hear from you frequently, and to be informed of any Occurrences you may think material. I am, Dear Sir, etc.

### **To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

Camp, Cambridge, January 24, 1776.

Sir: The Commissary General being at length returned from a long and painful Illness, I have it in my power to comply with the requisition of Congress, in forwarding an estimate of the expence attending his office;—as also that of the Quarter Master General's. You will please to observe, that the Commissary by his Account of the matter, has entered into no special Agreement with any of the Persons he has found occasion to employ. (as to

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those to whose names sums are annexed, are of their own fixing) But left it to Congress to ascertain their Wages:

I shall say nothing therefore on this head, further than relates to the proposition of Mr. Miller<sup>47</sup> to be allowed # for his trouble and the safe delivery of the other # of Provisions, which to me appears exorbitant in the extreme, however conformable it may be to custom and usage. I therefore think, that reasonable stipends had better be fixed upon. Both the Quarter Master and Commissary General assure me, that they do not employ a single person uselessly, and as I have too good an opinion of them, to think they would deceive me, I believe them.

I shall take the Liberty in this place, of recommending the expediency, indeed absolute necessity of appointing fit and proper persons to settle the Accounts of this Army. To do it with precision requires time, care and attention. The longer it is left undone, the more intricate they will be; The more liable to error, and difficult to explain and rectify, and also the Persons, in whose hands they are, if disposed to take undue advantages will be less subject to detection. I have been as attentive as the nature of my Office would admit of, in granting Warrants for Money on the paymaster; But it would be absolutely impossible for me to go into an examination of all the Accounts incident to this Army, and

47. Charles Miller, issuing storekeeper, Commissary General's department.

the vouchers appertaining to them, without devoting so large a proportion of my Time to the Business as might not only prove Injurious, but fatal to it in other respects. This ought in my Humble Opinion to be the particular business of a Select Committee of Congress, or one appointed by them, which once in three months at farthest, should make a full settlement with the Officers in the different departments.

Having met with no encouragement from the Governments of Massachusetts and New Hampshire from my application for Arms, and expecting no better from Connecticut and Rhode Island; I have as the last expedient, sent one or two Officers from each Regiment

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into the country with Money to try if they can buy. In what manner they succeed, Congress shall be informed, as soon as they return.

Congress, in my last, would discover my motives for strengthening these lines with Militia. But Whether as the Weather turns out exceedingly mild (insomuch as to promise nothing favourable from Ice) and there is no appearance of Powder, I shall be able to attempt anything decisive time only can determine. No man upon Earth wishes more ardently to destroy the nest in Boston, than I do. No person would be willing to go greater lengths than I shall, to accomplish it, If it shall be thought adviseable. But if we have no Powder to Bombard with, nor Ice to pass on, we shall be in no better situation than we have been in, all the year:—we shall be worse, as their Works are stronger.

I have accounts from Boston, which I think may be relied on that General Clinton with about 4 or 500 Men hath left that place within these four days. Whether this is part of the Detachment which was making up as mentioned in my Letter of the fourth, and then at Nantasket, or not, is not in my power to say. If it is designed for New York, or long Island, as some think, throwing in a Body of Troops there, may prove a fortunate circumstance; If they

go farther South, agreeable to the Conjectures of others, I hope there will be men to receive them. Notwithstanding the positive Assertions of the four Captains from Portsmouth, noticed in my letter of the 14th, I am now convinced from several corroborating circumstances;—the Accounts of Deserters and of Lieut: Hill of Lord Peircy's Regiment, who left Ireland the 5th of November and was taken by a Privateer from New Buryport, that the 17th. and 55th Regiments are arrived at Boston, and other Troops at Halifax, agreeable to the Information of Hutchinson and others. Lieut Hill says that the Transports of 2 Regiments only were forced into Milford Haven.

Congress will think me a little remiss, I fear, when I inform them, that I have done nothing yet towards raising the Battalion of Marines, but I hope to stand exculpated from blame,

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when they hear the reason which is, that already having 26 incomplete Regiments, I thought it would be adding to an expence already too great in Officers, to sett two entire Corps of Officers on foot, when perhaps we shall not add ten Men a Week to our present numbers, by it. In this Opinion the General Officers here concurred, which induced me to suspend the matter a little longer. Our Inlistments for the two last Weeks have not amounted to 1000 men and are diminishing. The Regiment for Canada, It is thought, will be soon filled as the men are to choose all but their Field Officers, which are appointed by the court.

On Sunday Evening 13. of the Coghnewaga Indians arrived here on a Visit.<sup>48</sup> I shall take care to entertain them in such a manner during their stay here, that they may return impressed with Sentiments of Friendship for us, and also of our great strength. One of them is Colonel Louis, who Honored me with a visit once before. I have the Honor, &ca.<sup>49</sup>

48. "1776, January 24, Wednesday. Began my journey to Philadelphia. Dined at C. Mifflin's, at Cambridge, with G. Washington and Gates and their ladies, and half a dozen sachems and warriors of the French Caghnewaga tribe, with their wives and children. Williams is one who was captured in his infancy and adopted. There is a mixture of white blood, French or English, in most of them. Louis, their principal, speaks English and French, as well as Indian. It was a savage feast, carnivorous animals devouring their prey; yet they were wondrous polite. The General introduced me to them as one of the grand council fire at Philadelphia, upon which they made me many bows and a cordial reception."— *Works of John Adams* (Diary), vol. 2, p. 431.

49. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

### **To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Cambridge, January 25, 1776.

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Sir: I received your favor of the 22d Inst., and am much obliged by your Assurance, that the three Regiments of Militia for this Camp, will be raised as fast as possible; they are much wanted. I wish it was in my power to facilitate their march, by sending a necessary supply of Money for it, but it is not, as our Treasury is exhausted, I hope in a little time it will be replenished, with a Sufficient Sum to answer every demand.

I am very sorry that Arms are so scarce with you, that none can be furnished on Account of the Continent, at this critical period. I know not what will be done. Those of the three Regiments, they will be allowed to carry away when their Service is ended, unless they choose to sell them. I will gladly buy, but never had an Idea of detaining them against their consent.

For the Arms which were detained and Appraized, I have given Warrants to the Several Colonels to whose Regiments they belonged, upon the pay Master Genl., as fast as the number and Value have been brought in, and will take care to have a return made you. I am &c.

### **To COLONEL BENEDICT ARNOLD**

Cambridge, January 27, 1776.

Dear Sir: On the 17th. Inst. I received the melancholy Account of the unfortunate Attack on the City of Quebec, attended with the Fall of General Montgomery and other brave officers and Men, and of your being wounded. This unhappy Affair affects me in a very sensible Manner and I sincerely condole with you upon the Occasion; but in the Midst of Distress, I am happy to find, that suitable Honors were paid to the Remains of Mr. Montgomery; and our Officers and Soldiers, who have fallen into their Hands, treated with Kindness and Humanity.

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Having received no Intelligence later than the Copy of your Letter of the 2nd. to General Wooster, I would fain hope, that you are not in a worse situation, than you were; tho' I confess I have greatly feared that those

Misfortunes would be succeeded by others, on Account of your unhappy Condition and the dispirited State of the Officers and Men. If they have not, I trust when you are joined by three Regiments now raising in this and the Governments of Connecticut and New Hampshire, and two others, ordered by the Congress from Pennsylvania, and the Jerseys, with the Men already sent off by Colonel Warner, that these Misfortunes will be done away, and Things resume a more favourable and promising Appearance than ever. I need not mention to you the great Importance of this Place, and the consequent Possession of all Canada, in the scale of American Affairs. You are well apprized of it. To whomsoever it belongs, in their Favour probably, will the Ballance turn. If it is in ours, Success, I think will most certainly crown our virtuous Struggles. If it is in theirs, the Contest at best, will be doubtful, hazardous and bloody. The glorious Work must be accomplished in the Course of this Winter, otherwise it will become difficult; most probably, impracticable: for Administration knowing that it will be impossible ever to reduce us to a State of Slavery and arbitrary Rule without it, will certainly send a large Reinforcement there in the Spring. I am fully convinced that your Exertions will be invariably directed to this grand Object, and I already view the approaching Day, when you and your brave Followers will enter this important Fortress with every Honor and Triumph, attendant on Victory, and Conquest. Then will you have added the only Link wanting in the great Chain of continental Union, and render the Freedom of your Country secure.

Wishing you a speedy Recovery, and the Possession of those Laurels, which your Bravery and Perseverance justly merit, I am. etc.<sup>55</sup>

55. Practically the same letter was sent this same day to Brig. Gen. David Wooster. Washington, in this, added the following: "I must therefore entreat you, in case General Schuyler's Indisposition should not permit him to act, to exert yourself upon the Occasion,

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as much as you possibly can and to give every Assistance in your Power for Compleating our Conquest in that Quarter. Three Regiments are raising in this and the Governments of Connecticut and New Hampshire, with all possible Expedition, and two from Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, have been ordered by Congress for this Purpose, besides a Number of Men under the Command of Colonel Warner. When these arrive and join the Troops already there, I confidently hope, that should the Command devolve upon you, you will not only reinstate our Affairs in their former pleasing Situation, but will be the happy means of adding the only Link wanting in the Grand Chain of continental Union. You will then have an Opportunity of employing your Abilities for your Country's Weal and rendering her Services never to be forgotton." This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

### **To MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER**

Cambridge, January 27, 1776.

Dear Sir: Your Favour of the 22nd. Inst. inclosing Colonel Arnold's Letter of the 2nd explaining the Doubt we were in respecting his Detachment, is received. Happy would it have been for our Cause if that Party could have got out of the City of Quebec; as I am much afraid from the Complexion of the Letters from that Place, that there is little Hope of Arnold's continuing the Blockade without Assistance from Wooster, which he is determined not to give, whether with Propriety or not, I shall not at this Distance undertake to decide.

The sad Reverse of our Affairs in that Quarter calls loudly for every Exertion in your Power, to restore them to the promising Aspect they so lately wore. For this Reason notwithstanding you think, the Necessity of Troops from hence is in some Measure superceded, I will not countermand the Order and Appointment of Officers, which are gone forth from this Government, Connecticut and New Hampshire, for raising a Regiment each 'till Congress (who are informed of it) shall have decided upon the Measure. I consider that the important Period is now arrived when the Canadians and consequently their Indians must take their Side. Should any indecisive Operations of ours, therefore, give the Bias

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against us, it is much easier to foresee, than to rectify the dreadful Consequences which must inevitably follow from it.

I consider also, that the Reinforcement under the Command of Colonel Warner, and such other spirited Men as have left the western Parts of the new England Governments, is only temporary, and may fail when most wanted, as we find it next to impossible to detain Men (not fast bound) in Service, after they get a little tired of the Duties of it, and Homesick.

These, my Dear Sir, are the great Out-Lines, which govern me in this Affair. If Congress mark

them as strongly as I do, they will not wish to starve the Cause at so critical a Period. If they think differently they will direct accordingly, and I must stand corrected for the Error my zeal hath led me into.

Colonel Porter,<sup>50</sup> said to be an exceeding active Man, is appointed to the Command of the Regiment from this Government, Colonel Burrell<sup>51</sup> to the one from Connecticut and Colonel Bedel<sup>52</sup> to that from New Hampshire. The two last are represented to me as Men of Spirit and Influence; so that from these Accounts, I have no Doubt of their getting into Canada in a very short Time, as I have endeavoured to excite the Spirit of Emulation. I wish most ardently that the State of your Health may permit you to meet them there. The Possession of Quebec, and entire Reduction of Canada this Winter, so as to have Leisure to prepare for the Defence of it in the Spring, is of such great and extensive Importance to the well being of America, that I wish to see Matters under the Direction—But I will say no more, you will come at my Meaning.

I am a little embarrassed to know in what Manner to conduct myself with Respect to the Caghnawaga Indians now here. They have, notwithstanding the Treaty of Neutrality which I find they entered into with you the other Day (agreeably to what appears to be the Sense of Congress), signified to me a Desire of taking up Arms in Behalf of the United Colonies. The Chief of them, and whom I understand is now the first Man of the Nation, intends (as it



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is intimated to me) to apply to me for a Commission, with Assurances of raising four or five Hundred Men when he returns. My Embarrassment does not proceed so much from the Impropiety of encouraging these People to depart from their Neutrality (accepting their own voluntary Offer rather) as from the Expense,

50. Col. Elisha Porter, of the Hampshire County, Mass., militia.

51. Col. Charles Burrall.

52. Col. Timothy Bedel, of the New Hampshire Rangers.

which probably may follow. I am sensible that if they do not desire to be idle, that they will be for or against us. I am sensible also, that no Artifices will be left unessayed to engage them against us. Their proffer'd services, therefore ought not to be rejected; but how far (under the little Knowledge I have of these People's Policy, and real Intentions and your Want of their Aid) I ought to go, is the Question that puzzles me. I will endeavour, however, to please them by yielding in Appearance to their Demands; reserving, at the same Time, the Power in you to regulate their Numbers and Movements, of which you shall be more fully informed when any Thing is fixed.<sup>53</sup> At present what they have mentioned is a Kind of out Door's Talk. They expect and are waiting to see Colonel Bedel (who promised to meet them here) before they open themselves fully.

What can you do in Compliance with Arnold's Request of Mortars &c.? If Knox disfurnished you, I am almost sorry for it, as I beleive I shall never get wherewith all to feed them here.

I congratulate you upon the Success of your Expedition into Tryon County.<sup>54</sup> I hope General Lee will execute a Work of the same Kind on Long Island &c. It is high Time to begin with our internal foes when we are threatened with such Severity of Chastisement from our kind Parent without. That the supreme Dispenser of every Good, may bestow Health, Strength and Spirit to you and your Army, is the fervent Wish of, Dear Sir, etc.

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53. General Schuyler, in regard to these Indians, replied (February 14): "It is extremely difficult to determine what should be done, in what you mention respecting the offer made by the Caghnawaga Indians; but if we can get decently rid of their offer, I would prefer it to employing them. The Expence we are at in the Indian Department is now amazing; it will be more so when they consider themselves as in our Service; nor would their Intervention be of much Consequence, unless we could procure that of the other Nations. The hauteur of the Indians is much diminished since the taking of Montreal; they evidently see that they cannot get any Supplies but thro' us." This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

On January 30 the Caughnawagas, St. John, and Passamaquoddy Indians delivered a talk to Washington, in which the former offered to aid in the attack on Canada and the latter asked for a supply of powder for hunting. A copy of these talks is in the *Washington Papers*.

54. Schuyler described his march into Tryon County in a letter to Washington, dated January 22, which is in the *Washington Papers*. He used the militia and took about 300 Scotch Highlanders, which he sent as prisoners to Pennsylvania. He also seized some light artillery, swivels, and blunderbusses.

### **To SIR WILLIAM HOWE**

Head Quarters, Cambridge, January 30, 1776.

Sir: I have it in Command from the Honorable Continental Congress, to propose an Exchange of Governor Skeene for Mr. James Lovell and Family. If the proposition is agreeable, you will please to signify as much to me, and Mr. Lovell, that he may prepare for his removal, whilst I cause Mr. Skeene to be brought to this place. I am Sir Your etc.<sup>66</sup>

### **To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

Cambridge, January 30, 1776.

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Sir: Your favours of the 6th. and 20th. Instant, I received Yesterday, with the several Resolves of Congress alluded to, for which I return you my thanks.

Knowing the great Importance Canada will be of to us, in the present Interesting Contest, and the relief our Friends there stand in need of, I should be happy, were It in my Power, to detach a Battalion from this Camp, But It cannot be done. On the 19th. instant, I had the Honor to write and inclose you the Resolution of a Council of War, and the Sentiments of the General Officers here as to the propriety of sending Troops from these Lines (for the defence of which we have been and now are obliged to call in the Militia) to which I beg leave to refer you. You may rest assured, that my endeavours and exertions shall not be wanting to stimulate the Governments of Connecticut and New Hampshire, to raise and forward reinforcements, as fast as possible, nor in any other Instance that will promote the expedition.

I shall in Obedience to the Order of Congress, tho' Interdicted by General Howe, propose an Exchange of Governor Skeene<sup>57</sup> for Mr. Lovell and family, and shall be happy to have an Opportunity of puting this deserving Man (who has distinguished his fidelity and regard to his Country to be too great for persecution and cruelty to overcome) in any post agreeable to his wishes and Inclination.

66. Howe's answer (February 2) was to the effect that he had intended to liberate Lovell, but discovered that he had carried on a prohibited correspondence, and for that reason declined to release him. Howe's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

57. Philip Skene entered the British Army in 1736 and served in European wars until he came to America in 1756. He became a captain in the Twenty-seventh Regiment in 1757, major of brigade in 1759, and commanded at Crown Point in October of the same year. In 1762 he participated in the West Indian expedition and was one of the first to enter the breach at the storming of Habana. In 1763 he returned to New York, where, in 1765, he obtained a patent for the township of Skenesboro (now Whitehall),

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and resided there after 1770, running a line between Canada and the Colonies, and superintending the settlement of the then uninhabited border country. In 1773 he applied to Lord Dartmouth to recommend him to the King for the appointment of governor of that region. The appointment was given, and he was empowered to raise a regiment in America. Activities in this connection brought him to the attention of the Continental Congress and led to his arrest in Philadelphia in June, 1775. In October, 1776, he was exchanged, joined Burgoyne as commander of a loyal American regiment, and was again captured at Saratoga. His property was confiscated by New York in 1779.— *Ford*.

I do not know that there is any particular Rank annexed to the Office of Aid de Camp; Generally they are Captains and Rank as such. But higher Rank is often given on account of particular merit and in particular circumstances. Aids to the King have the Rank of Colonels.

Whether any distinction should be made between those of your Commander in Chief and the other Generals, I really know not; [I think there ought].

You may rely, that Connolly had Instructions concealed in his Saddle. Mr. Eustice who was one of Lord Dunmores family, and another Gentleman who wishes his name not to be mentioned, saw them cased in Tin, put in the Tree, and covered over;—he probably has exchanged his Saddle, or with drew the papers when it was mended as you conjecture; those that have been discovered are sufficiently bad, but I doubt not of the others being worse and containing more diabolical and extensive plans.

I hope he will be taken proper care of and meet with rewards equal to his merits.

I shall appoint officers in the place of those which are in Canada, as I am fully persuaded they will wish to continue there for making our conquest complete in that Quarter. I wish their bravery and valor may be attended with the smiles of Fortune.

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It gives me great Pleasure to hear of the measures Congress are taking for manufacturing of Powder; I hope their endeavours will be crowned with success; I too well know and regret the want of it. It is scarcely possible to describe the disadvantages an Army must labour under, when not provided with a sufficient supply of this necessary.

It may seem strange, that after having received about [11] Tons added to about [five] Tons which I found here

and no General Action has happened, that we should be deficient in this Article and require more. But you will be pleased to consider, besides its being of a Wasteful nature and whilst the Men lay in bad Tents, was unavoidably damaged by severe and heavy rains (which could not have been prevented, unless it had been entirely withdrawn from them and an Attack hazarded against us without ammunition in their hands); That the Armed Vessels; our own occasional fireings, and some small supplies I have been Obligated to afford the Sea ports Towns threatned with immediate destruction, to which may be added the Supply to the Militia, and going off of the old Troops, have occasioned and ever will, a large consumption of it, [and waste, in spite of all the care in the World.] The Kings Troops never have less than 60 rounds a Man in their possession [Independant of their Stores.] To supply an Army of 20,000 in this manner, would take near 400 Barrels, allowing nothing for Stores Artillery &ca. I have been always afraid to place more than 12 or 15 Rounds at a time in the Hands of our Men, least any Accident happening to it; we should be left destitute and be undone. I have been thus particular, not only to shew our Poverty, but to exculpate myself from even a suspicion of unnecessary Waste.

I shall inform the Pay Master General of the Resolution of Congress, respecting his Drafts, and the mode and amount of them.

The companies at Chelsea and Malden are and always have been Regimented. It was not my intention to replace with Continental Troops, the Independent Companies at Hingham,

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Weymouth and Braintree; These places are exposed but not more so than Cape Ann, Beverly, Salem, Marblehead, &ca. &ca. &ca.

Is it the Intention of Congress, that the Officers of the Army should pay postage? they are not exempted by the Resolve of the 9n Instant.<sup>58</sup>

The Congress will be pleased, I have no doubt to recollect, that the 500,000 Dollars which are now coming, are but little more than enough to bring us up to the beginning of this month, that to morrow is the last day of it, and by their own resolves the Troops are to be paid monthly.

I wish it was in my power to furnish Congress with such a General, as they desire to send to Canada; since the unhappy reverse of our Affairs in that Quarter, General Schuyler has Informed me, that tho' he had thought of declining the service before, he would now Act. My letter of the 11th. will inform them of General Lee's being at New York;—he will be ready to obey their Orders should they incline to send him; But, If I am not greatly deceived, he or some other spirited able Officer will be wanted there in the Spring, if not sooner, as we have undoubted Intelligence that General Clinton has sailed with some Troops: the Reports of their Number are various, from between 4 and 500 to nineteen companies [of Grenadiers and light Infantry.] It is also Imagined, that the Regiments which were to sail the 1st. of December, are intended for that place or Virginia. General Putnam is a most valuable man and a fine executive Officer, but I do not know how he would conduct in a seperate department; he is a younger Major General than Mr. Schuyler, who as I have observed, having determined to continue in service, will I expect repair into Canada. A copy of my Letter to him, on this and other Subjects, I inclose you, as it will explain my motives for stoping

58. The resolve of January 9 permitted the private soldiers in active service to send their letters free of postage, provided they were franked by some one in authority. The officers were not mentioned in the resolve.

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the Regiments from these Governments.

When Captain Cockran arrives, I will give him every Assistance in my power; but I fear It will be the means of laying up our own Vessels, as these people will not bear the distinction.<sup>59</sup> Should this be the consequence, It will be highly prejudicial to us, as we some times pick up their Provision Vessels, and may continue to destroy them in this way. Last Week Captain Manly took a Ship and Brig from Whitehaven bound to Boston, with coals chiefly and some potatoes for the Army. I have for his great Vigilance and Industry appointed him Commodore of our little Squadron, and he now hoists his Flagg on board the Schooner Hancock.

I congratulate you on the recovery of Smith,<sup>60</sup> and am exceedingly glad to hear of the measures Congress are taking for the general Defence of the Continent. The Clouds gather fast, where they will burst, I know not, but we should be armed at all points.

I have not succeeded in my applications to these Governments for Arms; they have returned for Answer that they can not furnish any. Whether I shall be more lucky in the last resource left me in this Quarter, I cannot determine, having not received returns from the Officers sent out to purchase of the People. I greatly fear, that but very few will be procured in this way, as they are exceedingly scarce and but a small part of what there are fit for service;—when they make their report, you shall be informed.

The Quarter Master General has just received from General Schuyler, about 1700£ (York currency) worth of Clothing, for the Soldiery, It has come very seasonably as they are in great want, and will contribute a little to their relief.

Since writing the above I saw Mr. Eustice<sup>61</sup> and mentioning that nothing had been found in the Tree of Connolly's Saddle, he told me

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59. Capt. Robert Cochran had come to Philadelphia from South Carolina to recruit seamen for that colony. Congress, by its resolve (January 19), referred him to Washington.

60. Smith was one of Dr. John Connolly's companions; he had escaped and been recaptured.

61. John Eustace. Dunmore wrote to Sir William Howe concerning him (Dec. 2, 1775): "The only fault I know in him (if fault it can be called in a boy) is that he is a little too volatile."

that there had been a mistake in the matter: That the Instructions were artfully concealed in the two pieces of Wood which are on the mail pelion of his portmanteau Saddle; That by order of Lord Dunmore he saw them contrived for the purpose, the papers put in, and first covered with Tin and over that with a waxed canvass Cloth. He is so exceedingly pointed and clear in his Information, that I have no doubt of its being true.<sup>62</sup> I could wish 'em to be discovered, as I think they contain some curious and extraordinary plans.

In my Letter of the 24th. Instant, I mentioned the arrival of thirteen of our Caghnawaga Friends; They honored me with a Talk to-day as did three of the Tribes of St. Johns and Pasmiquoddi Indians; Copies of which I beg leave to inclose you. I shall write General Schuyler respecting the Tender of Service made by the former, and not to call for their Assistance, unless he shall at any time want it, or be under the necessity of doing it to prevent their taking the side of our Enemies.

I had the Honor of writing you on the 19th of November and then Informed you of having engaged two persons to go to Nova Scotia on the business recommended in your Letter of the 10th. and also that the State of the Army would not then admit of a sufficient force being sent for carrying into Execution the Views of Congress respecting the Dock Yards &ca.



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I would now beg leave to mention, that if the persons sent for Information should report favourably of the expediency and practicability of the Measure, that it will not be in my Power to detach any Men from these lines, the situation of our Affairs will not allow on it. I think it would be advisable to raise them in the Eastern parts of this Government.

If it is attempted, It must be by people from the country. A Col: Thompson a Member of the General Court, from the Province of Main, and who is well spoken of by the Court, and a Captain Obrien have been with me. They think the Men necessary, may be easily engaged there and the measure practicable; provided there are not more than 200 British Troops at Halifax. They are willing and ready to embark in the matter, upon the Terms mentioned in their plan, which I enclose you. I would wish you to advert to the considerations inducing them to the Expedition as I am not without apprehension, should it be undertaking on their plan, that the Innocent and Guilty will be involved in one common Ruin. I presume they do not expect to receive more from the Continent, than the 5 or 10,000£ mentioned in their Scheme, and to be at every expence. If we had men to spare It might be undertaken for less than either, I conceive. Perhaps If Congress do not adopt their proposition, they will undertake to raise men for that particular purpose, which may be disbanded, as soon as it is effected and upon the same Terms allowed the Continental Troops in general. Whatever may be the determination of Congress upon the Subject, you will please to communicate to me immediately, for the Season most favorable for the Enterprize is advancing fast and we may expect in the Spring, that there will be more Troops there and the measure be more difficult to execute. I am etc.<sup>63</sup>

**To MAJOR GENERAL CHARLES LEE**

Cambridge, January 30, 1776.

Dear Sir: I wrote you the 23rd. Inst. and then informed you that General Clinton had gone upon some Expedition with 4 or 500 Men. There is good Reason to believe that Tryon has applied for some Troops, and that he would join them with a great Number

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of Inhabitants; so that you will see the Necessity of your being decisive and expeditious in your Operations in that Quarter. The Tories should be disarmed immediately tho' it is probable, that they may have secured their Arms on Board the King's Ships, untill called upon to use them against us. However you can seize upon the Persons of the Principals. They must be so notoriously known, that there

62. Ford quotes from Connolly's *Narrative*: "My instructions and commission were concealed in the sticks of my servant's mail pillion, artfully contrived for the purpose...My servant, who was a man of great fidelity and adroitness, was not confined; and as he had gathered some slight intimation that matters of importance were in the pillion sticks. and observing the saddle and its appendages suspended in an adjoining shed, after having undergone a severe but fruitless scrutiny by the committee, he seized a favorable moment in the dead of night, opened the sticks, examined their contents by the light of a fire, and finding of what importance they were, destroyed them all, except my commission. This he sealed up, and conveyed to me, with a note informing me of what he had done, by means of a negro girl. that had before been proved to be faithful."

Smith's published *Tour* gives practically the same account and mentions that Samuel Chase, of Maryland, "one of the most illiberal, inveterate and violent Rebels," presided over their examination.

63. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The words in brackets were inserted by Washington in the letter sent to Congress. This letter is now in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

will be little Danger of your committing Mistakes, and happy should I be if the Governour could be one of them.

Since writing the above, your Favour of the 24th came to Hand with the sundry Inclosures, which I have with Attention perused, and very much approve of your Conduct. I sincerely wish that the Letter you expect to receive from Congress, may empower you to act

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conformable to your own and my Sentiments on this Occasion: It they should order differently we must submit, as they doubtless will have good Reasons for what they may determine on.<sup>64</sup> The Congress desire I should send an active General to Canada. I fancy when they made the Demand, that they did not think General Schuyler would continue in that Station, which he has given me to understand by some late Letters from him that he would. Should they not approve of the New York Expedition, and think another General necessary for the northern Department, it is probable they will fix on you to take the Command there.

I should be sorry to have you removed so far from this Scene; but if the Service there requires your Presence it will be a fine Field for the Exertion of your admirable Talents. There is nothing new here. Let me hear often from you, and believe me, &c.<sup>65</sup>

64. General Lee was at Stamford, in Connecticut, where he was preparing to enter New York with such troops as he had collected. In his letter to Congress he had strongly urged the expediency of disarming the Tories, requiring an oath of them to act offensively and defensively in support of the common rights, and a pledge of one-half of their property as a security for their good behavior.— *Sparks*. (See notes to Washington's letter to Maj. Gen. Charles Lee, Jan. 23, 1776, *ante*.)

65. Lee arrived in New York February 4 “almost at the same instant” with Clinton. “He [Clinton] has brought no Troops with him, and pledges his Honour that none are coming. He says it is merely a visit to his Friend Tryon. If it is really so, it is the most whimsical piece of civility I ever heard of. He informs us that his intention is for N. Carolina, where He expects Five regiments from England; that He only brought two companies of Light Infantry from Boston This is certainly a droll way of proceeding; to communicate his full plan to the Enemy is too novel to be credited.”— *Lee to Washington*, Feb. 5, 1776. Clinton did, however, go southward. Lee's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

### To MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER

## Library of Congress

Cambridge, February 1, 1776.

Dear Sir: On the 27th. Ulto. I had the Pleasure of writing you, and then mentioned my being under some Embarrasment respecting the Application, which I expected from our Caghnawaga Friends. I have now the Pleasure to inform you, that in a Talk they honoured me with Yesterday, they put the Matter upon the Footing I wished; that is, to join the Forces in Canada, whenever you shall call for their Assistance. They requested me to certify my Approbation of the Treaty they had concluded with you, which I did. Upon the Occasion they expressed much Satisfaction, and said that they were now happy, that a firm Peace was made between them and their Brothers, and that they were now free like the New England People. I heartily wish that this Union may be lasting, and that nothing may cast up to interrupt it. The Expediency of calling upon them, I shall leave to you. Circumstances and Policy will suggest the Occasion.

I promised them to write you by Colonel Bedel, of what they had done, and shall submit it to your Discretion to communicate to them such Parts of this as you may think necessary.

I have advanced one Hundred Pounds lawful Money to Colonel Bedel, for the Expences attending their Return Home. This he will account with you for. I am, Dear Sir, etc.

### **To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Cambridge, February 8, 1776.

Sir: I last night received Intelligence of the arrival of some Powder in your Colony by the Sloop Macaroni, and the report is that she brought Arms too. As my last Letters from Philadelphia, do not Promise me an Immediate supply of these necessaries, and as the exigency of this Army at this particular crisis, calls for much more than what we have, I beg the favor of you to Interest yourself, that they may be sent to this Camp, as expeditiously as possible. If they belong to the Colony, I will take them on the Continents Account, and pay for them, or replace the Powder, If that shall be thought more advisable, as soon as

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I have an opportunity of doing it, which I hope will not be long. If to private Gentlemen, I shall be much obliged by your friendly exertions that I may have it. I should have made this application, did not the state of our affairs at this time require all that can be collected, not doubting of your last endeavours that my requisition may be complied with, I am Sir, etc.

### **To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Cambridge, February 9, 1776.

Sir: I received your favors of the 2d. and 5th Inst., and agreeable to your request have ordered payment for the Ballance of the Expences attending the Journey of the two French Gentlemen to Philadelphia to be made to William Bacon, Postrider, for your use, which I hope will come safe to hand.

I am happy to hear of your having received 12,500 dolls.

from Congress for the Troops going upon the Canada expedition and heartily wish, that no other difficulties may occur to impede their march and prevent their giving early and timely succour to our friends there, which they certainly stand in great need of.

As to replacing the Money advanced by your Colony to the Regiments which served the last Campaign; It is not in my power. It is what I did not expect and therefore have made no provision for it. I should have paid them in the same manner I did others, had I not been prevented by the Colonels, who expressed their Inclination to receive the whole at one time, after the expiration of the Service and on their return home.—This being the case, I always imagined, that the sum advanced by you, would be taken in, when Congress came to form a General Account against the Colonies, and be applied to your Credit, which I presume they will shortly do, as I have wrote to them and pointed out the Necessity of having all the Accounts respecting this Army, adjusted and liquidated at proper periods.—Had I conceived, that this application for Repayment would have been made to me, I should certainly have included the sum advanced by you in my estimates and taken care

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to have had a sufficiency of Money to discharge it. But as I did not, I am unprovided and have not more than will answer the Claims I was apprized of, antecedent to the last day of December. They are large and numerous, and in a few days, will drain our Treasury of every shilling now in it. I am exceedingly sorry that Matters should be so circumstanced, as to give you the least disappointment or trouble, But I doubt not Congress upon your application, will refund what you have advanced, or settle it in such a way, as shall be perfectly agreeable to you.

I shall take care, to have the three Battallions of Militia

paid, which are coming here for the defence of our Lines in the same Manner, that the rest are when the time of their engagement expires. They certainly might have come thus far without the advance you have been obliged to give.

Having lately examined into the State of our Powder and finding the deficiency to be much greater than what I had any Idea of, and hearing that the Militia from your Colony, and I fear from the others too, are coming without any, or with but very little, I cannot but confess my anxiety and concern to be very great; I therefore again repeat the request I made this Morning, and beg and intreat your most strenuous and friendly exertions, to procure what we are told is Imported, or such part as you possibly can, and send it to me with the utmost expedition. I am already much alarmed on account of the scarcity, and the Militia coming in without a proper supply, fills me with apprehensions of the most disagreeable nature. this I would mention in confidence, as it might give great uneasiness if it was generally known, and trusting that nothing in your honor will be wanting to relieve us at this alarming and Important crisis. I am &ca.

### **To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

Cambridge, February 9, 1776.

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Sir: I beg leave to Inform you at the request of the Committee of Pay Table of the Colony of Connecticut, that I have not advanced to any of the Regiments from that Government any money, except the sum of seven thousand one hundred and seventy-two and one ninth Dollars, on the 20th November last to Major General Putnam for the 34th Regt. under his command. I should have paid them in the same manner I did the rest of the Army,

had I not been prevented by the Colonels, who expressed their Inclination to receive the whole at once, upon their return home at the expiration of service, as was customary in their Colony, for this reason I never included them in my Estimates of money and have made no provision for their payment. Always Imagining that what ever payments the Colony made them, Congress would apply to their Credit in the General Account against the United Colonies, or refund upon application. I have, etc.<sup>80</sup>

### **\*To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

Cambridge, February 9, 1776.

Sir: The purport of this Letter, will be directed to a single Object; through you I mean to lay it before Congress, and at the same time that I beg their serious attention to the subject, to ask pardon for intruding an opinion, not only unasked, but in some measure repugnant to their Resolves.

The disadvantages attending the limited, Inlistment of Troops, is too apparent to those who are eye witnesses of them, to render any animadversions necessary; but to Gentlemen at a Distance, whose attention is engross'd by a thousand important objects, the case may be otherwise.

That this cause precipitated the fate of the brave and much to be lamented Genl. Montgomery, and brought on the defeat which followed thereupon, I have not the

<sup>80</sup>. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

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most distant doubt of, for had he not been apprehensive of the Troops leaving him at so important a crisis, but continued the Blockade of Quebec, a capitulation, from the best account I have been able to collect, must inevitably have followed, and, that we were not obliged at one time to dispute these Lines under disadvantageous Circumstances (proceeding from the same cause, to wit, The Troops disbanding of themselves, before the Militia could be got in) is to me a matter of wonder and astonishment; and proves, that General Howe was either unacquainted with our Situation, or restrained by his Instructions from putting any thing to a hazard 'till his reinforcements should arrive.

The Instance of General Montgomery I mention it because it is a striking one; for a number of others might be adduced; proves, that instead of having Men to take advantage of Circumstances, you are in manner compell'd, Right or Wrong, to make Circumstances, yield to a Secondary consideration. Since the first of December I have been devising every means in my power to secure these Incampments, and though I am sensible that we never have, since that Period, been able to act upon the Offensive, and at times not in a condition to defend, yet the cost of marching home one set of Men; bringing in another, the havock and waste occasioned by the first; the repairs necessary for the Second, with a thousand incidental charges and Inconveniencies which have arisen, and which it is scarce possible either to recollect or describe, amounts to near as much as the keeping up a respectable body of Troops the whole time, ready for any emergency, would have done.

To this may be added that you never can have a well Disciplined Army.

To bring Men well acquainted with the Duties of a Soldier, requires time; to bring them under proper discipline and Subordination, not only requires time, but is a Work of great difficulty; and in this Army, where there is so little distinction between the Officers and Soldiers, requires an uncommon degree of attention. To expect then the same Service from Raw, and undisciplined Recruits as from Veteran Soldiers, is to expect what never did, and perhaps never will happen. Men who are familiarized to danger, meet it without shrinking, whereas those who have never seen Service often apprehend danger where no



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danger is. Three things prompt Men to a regular discharge of their Duty in time of Action: natural bravery, hope of reward, and fear of punishment. The two first are common to the untutor'd, and the Disciplin'd Soldiers; but the latter, most obviously distinguishes the one from the other. A Coward, when taught to believe, that if he breaks his Ranks, and abandons his Colours, will be punished with Death by his own party, will take his chance against the Enemy; but the Man who thinks little of the one, and is fearful of the other, Acts from present feelings regardless of consequences.

Again, Men of a days standing will not look forward, and from experience we find, that as the time approaches for their discharge they grow careless of their Arms, Ammunition, Camp utensils &ca. nay even the Barracks themselves have felt uncommon marks of Wanton depredation, and lays us under fresh trouble, and additional expence, in providing for every fresh sett; when we find it next to impossible to procure such Articles, as are absolutely necessary in the first Instance. To this may be added the Seasoning which new Recruits must have to a Camp,

and the loss, consequent therefrom. But this is not all, Men engaged for a short, limited time only, have the Officers too much in their power; for to obtain a degree of popularity, in order to induce a second Inlistment, a kind of familiarity takes place which brings on a relaxation of Discipline, unlicensed furloughs, and other Indulgences, incompatable with order and good Government, by which means, the latter part of the time for which the Soldier was engaged, is spent in undoing what you were aiming to inculcate in the first.

To go into an enumeration of all the Evils we have experienced in this late great change of the Army, and the expence incidental to it, to say nothing of the hazard we have run, and must run, between the discharging of one Army and Inlistment of another (unless an Inormous expence of Militia is incurred) would greatly exceed the bounds of a Letter; what I have already taken the liberty of saying, will serve to convey a general Idea of the matter, and, therefore I shall with all due deference, take the freedom to give it as my opinion, that if the Congress have any reason to believe, that there will be occasion for Troops another

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year, and consequently of another enlistment, they would save money, and have infinitely better Troops if they were, even at the bounty of twenty, thirty or more Dollars to engage the Men already Enlisted ('till January next) and such others as may be wanted to compleat to the Establishment, for and during the War.—I will not undertake to say that the Men may be had upon these terms, but I am satisfied that it will never do to let the matter

alone as it was last year, till the time of service was near expiring. The hazard is too great in the first place. In the next the trouble and perplexity of disbanding one Army and raising another at the same Instant, and in such a critical situation as the last was, is scarcely in the power of Words to describe, and such as no man, who has experienced it once, will ever undergo again.<sup>86</sup>

If Congress should differ from me in Sentiment upon this point, I have only to beg that they will do me the justice to believe, that I have nothing more in view than what to me appears necessary to advance the public weal, although in the first Instance it will be attended with a capital expence; and, that I have the Honor to be etc.<sup>87</sup>

### **To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

Cambridge, February 9, 1776.

Sir: In compliance with the resolves of Congress I have applied to General Howe for the Exchange of Mr. Lovell; a Copy of my Letter and his answer thereto, you have inclosed. —Capt. Watters and Capt. Tucker who command two of the Armed Schooners, have taken and sent into Gloster, a large Brigantine, laden with firewood 150 Butts for Water and 40 Suits of Bedding bound from La Have in Nova Scotia to Boston; She is one of the Transports in the Ministerial Service, the Captain says that he was at Halifax the 17th. January and that General Massey was arrived there with two Regiments from Ireland.

The different prizes were all Libeled, immediately on receipt of the resolves

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86. Ford quotes from the *Works of John Adams*, vol. 3, P-48: "The truth is I never opposed the raising of men during the war....But I contended that I knew the number to be obtained in this manner would be very small in New England, from whence almost the whole army was derived. A regiment might possibly be obtained, of the meanest, idlest, most intemperate and worthless, but no more. A regiment was no army to defend this country. We must have tradesmen's sons, and farmers' sons, or we should be without defence, and such men certainly would not enlist during the war, or for long periods, as yet, The service was too new; they had not yet become attached to it by habit. Was it credible that men who could get at home better living, more comfortable lodgings, more than double the wages, in safety, not exposed to the sickness of the camp, would bind themselves during the war? I knew it to be impossible. In the Middle States, where they imported from Ireland and Germany, so many transported convicts and redemptioners, it was possible they might obtain some. Let them try. ...But I warned them against depending on so improbable a resource for the defence of the country. Congress confessed the unanswerable force of this reasoning."

87. In the writing of Stephen Moylan.

of Congress, pointing out the mode;<sup>81</sup> but none of them yet brought to trial, owing to a difference between the Law past in this Province and the Resolution of Congress. The General Court are making an Amendment to their Law, by which the difficulties that now occur will be removed, as I understand it is to be made conformable to your resolves, the unavoidable delay attending the bringing the Captures to trial is grievously complained of by the Masters of these Vessels, as well as the Captors, many of the former have applied for Liberty to go away without waiting the decision, which I have granted them.

I beg leave to recall the attention of Congress to their appointing a Commissary in these parts to attend the providing of necessaries for the Prisoners who are dispersed in these Provinces. Complaints are made by some of them, that they are in want of bedding and many other things. As I understand that Mr. Franks<sup>82</sup> has undertaken that business, I

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wish he was ordered to send a Deputy immediately, to see that the Prisoners get what is allowed them by Congress, also to supply the Officers with Money, as they may have occasion; it will save me much Time and much trouble. There are yet but few Companies of Militia come in; this delay I am much affraid, will frustrate the intention of their being called upon. As the Season is slipping fast away when they maybe of service. The demands of the Army were so very pressing before your last remittance came to hand, that I was under the necessity of borrowing £25,000 Lawful, from this Province; they very chearfully lent it, and

81. See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Dec. 20, 1775.

82. David Franks acted as British commissary of prisoners.

passed a vote for as much more if required.

I have not repaid the sum borrowed, as I may stand in need of it, before the arrival of another supply, which the Demands of the Commissary General, Quarter Master General, and paying off the arrearages, will very soon require.

Your esteemed favor of the 29th. Ult. is just now come to hand, it makes me very happy to find my conduct hath met the approbation of Congress.

I am entirely of your Opinion, that should an accommodation take place, the Terms will be severe, or favorable, in proportion to our ability to resist, and that we ought to be on a respectable footing to receive their Armaments in the Spring:— but how far we shall be provided with the means is a matter I profess not to know under my present unhappy want of Arms, Ammunition, and I may add men, as our Regiments are very incomplete, the recruiting goes on very slow and will I apprehend be more so, if for other services the men receive a bounty and none is given here.

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I have tried every method I can think of to procure Arms for our Men; they really are not to be had in these Governments [belonging to the Public]<sup>83</sup> and if some method is not fallen upon in the Southern Governments, to supply us, we shall be in a distressed situation for want of them; there are near 2000 men now in Camp without Firelocks. I have wrote to the Committee of New York, this day, requesting them to send me those Arms which were taken from the

83. The words in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

disaffected in that Government, the Congress interesting themselves in this request, will doubtless have a good effect. I have sent Officers into the Country with Money to purchase Arms in the different Towns, some have returned and brought in a few, many are still out, what their success will be I cannot determine.

I was in great hopes, that the expresses, resolved to be established between this place and Philadelphia, would ere now have been fixt. It would in my Opinion, rather save, than increase the expence, as many Horses, are destroyed by one Man coming the whole way, it will certainly be more expeditious, and safer than writing by the Post, or private hands, which I am often under the necessity of doing.<sup>84</sup> I have the Honor etc.<sup>85</sup>

84. This letter was read in Congress on February 22; considered in Committee of the Whole on February 23; and committees appointed to contract for arms and encourage their manufacture, Another committee was appointed to encourage the manufacture of powder. On March 14 a general resolution was adopted recommending the disarming of the “notoriously disaffected to the cause of America” throughout the Colonies; the arms taken to be paid for.

85. In the writing of Stephen Moylan.

### **To THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY OF NEW YORK**

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Cambridge, February 10, 1776.

Sir: Being in the greatest want of Arms at this alarming and important Crisis, for the Army under my Command, without the most distant prospect or hope of getting more from these Governments, than what I already have; I beg leave to solicit the favors of your Committee of Safety in this Instance, and earnestly request, that they will use their exertions to get and send to me, in the most expeditious Manner, all that they can possibly procure. I imagine that there are several belonging to the Colony, and have been informed of many Tories being disarmed, and therefore expect, that it will be in their power to obtain me a considerable supply; Whatever Quantity is sent me, I will take on the Continental Account and make payment for, with the Expences Incident to their transportation. This application being founded in necessity and arising from the exigency of our affairs, I make no doubt will meet your most ready and early attention, and that nothing will be wanting on your Part, to give me the most speedy relief. I am Sir, etc.

P.S. I wish to have only such Arms as are good and serviceable, and shall be glad to have Bayonets with them.

### **To THE MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE**

Cambridge, February 10, 1776.

Gentn: Notwithstanding I have taken every method my Judgment could Suggest, to procure a sufficient number of Firelocks for the Soldiers of this Army, by applications to the Assemblies and Conventions of these Governments, as well as by sending Officers out with Money to Purchase; I am constrained by necessity to Inform you, that the deficiency is amazingly great, and that there are not nigh enough to Arm the Troops already here. It is true, that all the Officers gone upon the business, are not yet returned, but from the small success of those who have made report, I cannot promise myself many more; I must therefore beg leave to Sollicit your kind attention to this Interesting and Important concern,

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and would submit it to your Consideration whether if your Honorable Court were to depute some of their Members to make application to the different Towns, they might not procure a Considerable Quantity. I will most chearfully furnish them with Money for the purpose, or pay for them on their delivery here, as you shall think most advisable. I shall only add, that I hope the Exigency of our affairs at this critical crisis, will excuse this request and my confidence of your readiness and zeal, to do every thing in your power for promoting the public good; and am Gentln. etc.

P S I have heard that there are several King's Muskets in the Country, for every good one with a Bayonet, that have not been abused, I will give 12 Dollars,—and in proportion for other Guns fit for Service.

### **To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

Cambridge, February 14, 1776.

Sir: Through you, I beg leave to lay before Congress the Inclosed Letter from Lord Drummond to General Robertson, which came to my hands a few days ago in order to be sent into Boston.

As I never heard of his Lordship being vested with power to treat with Congress upon the Subject of our Grievances, nor of his having laid any propositions before them for an Accommodation; I confess It surprized me much and led me to form various conjectures of his Motives and Intended application to General Howe and Admiral Shuldham, for a passport for the safe conduct of such Deputies as Congress might appoint for negotiating Terms of reconciliation between Great Britain and us.

Whatever his Intentions are, however benevolent his designs may be, I confess that his Letter has Embarrassed me much, and I am not without suspicion of its meaning more than the generous purposes it professes.<sup>93</sup> I should suppose, that if the mode for negotiation which he points out, should be adopted, which I hope will never be thought

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of, that it ought to have been fixed and settled, previous to any application of this Sort, and at best, his conduct in this Instance is premature, and Officious, and leading to consequences of a fatal and Injurious nature to the rights of this Country. His Zeal and desire perhaps of an amicable and constitutional adjustment's taking place, may have suggested and precipitated the measure; Be that as It may, I thought it of too much

93. James, Lord Drummond (Earl of Perth), an officious enthusiast, made two attempts to propose a plan of reconciliation between Great Britain and the Colonies. His letter to Brig. Gen. James Robertson is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

The first notice of the matter is contained in a letter from Thomas Lynch to Washington, dated at Philadelphia, Jan. 16, 1776, in which he says: "A gentleman well known in Maryland, Lord Drummond, just from England, tells me, that he has had many conversations with the ministry....and showed me a paper approved by each of them, and which he is sure will be supported in both Houses. The substance of it is,—America to be declared free in point of Taxation and internal Police; Judges to be approved by the Judges of England, and commissioned during good behaviour, upon stated and sufficient support to be statedly assigned them by the colonies; all charters to be held sacred; that of Boston to be restored; Britain to regulate trade *sub modo*; all duties laid for file purpose of regulation to be paid into the colony treasury where they arise, applicable to its uses by its own legislature, in lieu of which, America shall by duties on such articles as will probably keep pace in its consumption with the rise or declension of the colony, laid by each legislature by permanent act of Assembly, grant towards the general support of the empire annual sums in proportion to five thousand pounds sterling for this colony. As this sum is little more than half of what did arise by duties heretofore paid in this place, I doubted his information. but was assured that ministry wanted nothing but a shew of revenue to hold up to Parliament, as they are afraid to propose reconciliation without saving what the stiff old Englishmen call the honor of the nation. His Lordship came hither through Halifax, Boston. and New York, where I fancy he saw what induced him to hint once or twice at beginning with a suspension of arms, to which I turned a very deaf ear, well knowing



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that the season of winter is ours, and that much may be done by April next. I sincerely wish I had your sentiments on those heads. I shall propose them to the consideration of Congress as soon as the most urgent affairs are over. I think they merit it." The original of Lynch's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

On February 5 Drummond again wrote to Robertson and sent his letter to Lynch, Lynch forwarded it to Washington, who forwarded it to Congress. This caused John Adams to comment caustically on the need of so doing in his *Works* (vol. 3, pp. 31–33), written years later. The original letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

An account of the attempted negotiations is in Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, vol. 3, P. 525.

Importance to suffer It to go in, without having the express direction of Congress for that purpose, and that It was my Indispensable duty to transmit them the Original, to make such Interpretations and Inferences as they may think right.

Messrs. Willard and Child, who were sent to Nova Scotia, in pursuance of the resolve of Congress, have just returned and made their report, which I do myself the honor to inclose you. They have not answered the purposes of their commission by any means, as they only went but a little way into that country, and found their Intelligence, upon the Information of others. You will see the reasons they Assign in excuse or Justification of their conduct, in the report itself.

Last night a party of Regulars, said to be about 500, landed on Dorchester Neck and burnt some of the Houses there, which were of no value to us, nor would they have been, unless we take post there, they then might have been of some service. A Detachment went after them, as soon as the fire was discovered, but before it could arrive, they had executed their plan and made their retreat.<sup>94</sup>

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Inclosed is a Letter for David Franks Esq. from Mr. Chainier in Boston, upon the Subject of Victualling such of the Kings Troops, as may be prisoners within the limits of his contract, which I beg the favor of you to deliver him, and that proper Agents may be appointed by him to see that It is done. I could wish too, that Congress

94. In describing this adventure, General Howe wrote to Lord Dartmouth that it being understood the enemy intended to take possession of Dorchester Point, or Neck, a detachment was ordered from Castle William under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Leslie, and another of grenadiers and light infantry commanded by Major Musgrave, with directions to pass over the ice and destroy every house and every kind of cover on the peninsula. This was done, and six of the guards taken prisoners.—Sparks.

would fall upon some mode for supplying the Officers with such Money as they may really stand in need of, and depute proper persons for that purpose, and furnishing the privates with such clothing as may be absolutely necessary; I am applied to and wearied by their repeated requests. In some Instances I have desired the Committees to give the prisoners within their Appointments what they should Judge absolutely necessary for their support, as the only means in my power of relieving their distress. But I imagine that If there were persons to superintend this Business, that their wants would be better attended to, and many exorbitant charges prevented and saved to the Continent and the whole would be then brought into a proper account. I am, Sir, etc.

P.S. I send a Return of the Strength of the Regiments.<sup>95</sup>

**To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Cambridge, February 15, 1776.

Sir: Your favor of the 12th Instant I received, and beg leave to inform you, that I should have most certainly contrived, to have spared you some Money for the Troops going to

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Canada, pressing as the demands against me were, had I not been advised of the supply sent you by Congress for that purpose.

I shall be glad to know, whether, when I pay the Militia from your Government, I am to give Warrants only for the ballance, after deducting the three Dollars pr Man advanced by your Committee of pay Table, and whether I am to refund what they paid, after the Militia have served the time they are engaged for. the whole of them are not yet come in, but I imagine it will not belong first.

I am much obliged and return you my sincere thanks,

95. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison, but the postscript has been added by Washington.

for ordering the Powder from Providence to this Camp, in this Time of necessity, and will most chearfully pay for it, or replace it, when in my power, as shall be most agreeable to you; And also for the Arms you are good enough to promise to send me as they are exceedingly wanted. I wish you could have added a Cypher or two to the Number.

I had received almost a Similar Letter from General Lee, to the one you have favored me with, before yours came to hand; and also heard of the arrival of Powder, Salt Petre and Arms at Philadelphia. My Accounts, only make the Powder 15 Tons, be that as it may, It is an event of much Importance to us, and I hope will be soon followed by more. I am &c.

### **To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Cambridge, February 19, 1776.

Sir: I am grieved to find, that instead of Six or eight thousand weight of Powder, which I fondly expected to receive from Providence (agreeable to your Letter), that I am likely to get only 4217 lb, Including the 3000 Weight belonging to this Province (If to be had). My situation in respect to this Article, is really distressing, and while common prudence obliges

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me to keep my want of it concealed, to avoid a discovery thereof to the Enemy; I feel the bad effect of that concealment from our friends, For not believing our distress equal to what it really is they withhold such small supplies as are in their power to give; I am so restrained in all my Military movements, for want of these

necessary supplies, that it is impossible to undertake anything effectual; and whilst I am fretting, at my own disagreeable situation, the World I suppose is not behind hand in censuring my inactivity. A Golden Opportunity has been lost, perhaps not to be acquired again, this year. The late freezing weather had formed some pretty strong Ice from Dorchester to Boston Neck, and from Roxbury to the Common; which would have afforded a less dangerous approach to the Town, than through the Lines, or by water. The advantage of this, added to a thorough conviction of the Importance of destroying the Ministerial Troops in Boston, before they can be reinforced, and to a belief that a bold and resolute Assault, aided in some small degree by Artillery and Mortars, might be crowned with Success; I proposed the Attempt a day or two ago to the General Officers, but they thought, and perhaps rightly, that' such an Enterprize in our present weak State of Men (for the Militia are not yet all arrived) and deficiency of Powder, would be attended with too much hazard, and therefore that we had better wait the arrival of the last, and then to begin a Bombardment in earnest.

This matter is mentioned to you in confidence;—your zeal, activity and Attachment to the cause, renders it unnecessary to conceal it from you, or our real stock of Powder; which after furnishing the Militia (unfortunately coming in without, and will require upwards of 50 Barrels and compleating our other Troops to 24 Rounds a Man; which are less by one half than the Regulars have, and having a few Rounds of Cannon Cartridges fitted for immediate use, will leave us not more than 100 Barrels in store, for the greatest emergency, Inclusive of the 4217 lb from Providence, If we get it.

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This my Dear Sir, is Melancholy! But it is a truth, and at the same time, that it may serve to convey, some Idea of my disagreeable feelings under a knowledge of It, will evince the necessity of Vigorous

exertions, to throw without delay, every ounce that can be procured, into this Camp; otherwise the great expence of sending in the Militia will be intirely sunk, without any possible good resulting from it, but much evil, as they will contribute not a little to the consumption of our Amunition &c &c.

For want perhaps of better Information, I cannot help giving it as my opinion, that at a time when our Military Operations are intirely at a stand, for want of Powder principally and Arms; It is inconsistent with good policy, to hoard up Town Stocks of either; better it is, to fight an Enemy at a distance, than at one's door. Prudence indeed points out the expediency of providing for private as well as Public Exigencies; But if both are not to be done, I should think there can be no hesitation in the Choice; as the Army now raised and supported at a Considerable expence, can be of little use, if it is not sufficient to prevent an Enemy from disturbing the quiet of the interior Towns of these Governments. I am &c.

### **\*To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

Cambridge, February 18, 1776.

Sir: The late freezing Weather having formed some pretty strong Ice from Dorchester point to Boston neck, and from Roxbury to the Common, thereby affording a more expanded and consequently a less dangerous Approach to the Town, I could not help thinking, notwithstanding the Militia were not all come In, and we had little or no Powder to begin our Operation by a regular Cannonade and Bombardment, that a bold and resolute assault

upon the Troops in Boston with such Men as we had (for it could not take many Men to guard our own Lines, at a time when the Enemy were attacked in all Quarters) might be crowned with success; and therefore, seeing no certain prospect of a supply of Powder on

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the one hand, and a certain dissolution of the Ice on the other, I called the General Officers together for their opinion (agreeable to the Resolve of Congress of the 22d of December).

The Result will appear in the Inclosed Council of War,<sup>96</sup> and being almost unanimous, I must suppose to be right although, from a thorough conviction of the necessity of attempting something against the Ministerial Troops, before a Reinforcement should arrive and while we were favour'd with the Ice, I was not only ready, but willing and desirous of making the Assault; under a firm hope, if the Men would have stood by me, of a favourable Issue, notwithstanding the Enemy's advantage of Ground Artillery, &ca.

Perhaps the Irksomeness of my situation, may have given different Ideas to me, than those which Influenced the Gentlemen I consulted, and might have inclin'd me to put more to the hazard than was consistent with prudence. If it had, I am not sensible of it, as I endeavour'd to give it all the consideration that a matter of such Importance required.— True it is, and I cannot help

96. In the council of war (February 16) Washington advanced his reasons for an assault on Boston: That the American force fit for duty was 8,797; that 1,405 additional troops on command could join at once; that the British force fit for duty was not above 5,000; that there was not enough powder for cannon, so small arms must be relied upon; that merely to bombard would only damage the town and not injure the British, who could withdraw to their ships; “that a stroke well aim'd at this critical juncture might put a final end to the War and restore Peace and tranquility so much to be wished for;” and that as the bay and rivers being frozen an easy entry into Boston was possible. The council judged an assault improper.

acknowledging, that I have many disagreeable Sensations, on Acct. of my Situation; for to have the Eyes of the whole Continent fixed, with anxious expectation of hearing of some great event, and to be restrain'd in every Military Operation for want of the necessary

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means of carrying it on, is not very pleasing; especially, as the means used to conceal my weakness from the Enemy conceals it also from our friends and adds to their Wonder.

I do not utter this by way of Complaint. I am sensible that all that the Congress could do, they have done, and I should feel, most powerfully, the weight of conscious Ingratitude were I not to acknowledge this; but as we have Accounts of the arrival of Powder in Capt'n. Mason, I would beg to have it sent on in the most expeditious manner, otherwise we not only loose all chance of the Benefits resulting from the Season, but of the Militia which are brought in at a most Inormous expence, upon a presumption that we should long e're this have been amply supplied with Powder under the contracts enter'd into with the Committee of Congress.

The Militia, contrary to an express requisition, are come, and coming in without ammunition; to supply them alone, with 24 Rounds, which is less by #th than the Regulars are served with, will take between fifty and 60 Barrels of Powder; and to compleat the other Troops to

the like quantity will take near as much more, and leave in store not more than about 60 Barrels, besides a few rounds of Cannon Cartridges ready filled for use.

This Sir, Congress may be assured is a true state of Powder and will I hope bear some Testimony of my Incapacity for Action, in such away as may do any essential Service.

February 25th.

When I began this Letter I proposed to have sent it by Express, but recollecting that all my late Letters have been as expressive of my want of Powder and Arms as I could paint them, and that Mr. Hooper was to set of in a day or two, I thought it unnecessary to run the Continent to the expence of an Express merely to repeat what I had so often done, before when I am certain that Congress knowing our necessities will delay no time, that can possibly be avoided, in supplying them.

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My Duty is offered to Congress and with great respect and esteem, I have the honour etc.

P.S. hearing of the arrival of a small parcel of Powder in Connecticut I have been able to obtain 3000 Weight of it, which is in addition to the 60 Barls before mentioned.

### **To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Cambridge, February 22, 1776.

Sir: In my Letter to you of the 19th Inst., I mentioned that I was sorry to find, that there would come but 4217 lb. of Powder instead of 6 or 8000. I had expectations of. I had taken my Information from Governor Cooke's Letter, which upon a reperusal, I find mentions that weight including the Casks. I have since had it weighed by the Commissary an exact return of which you have inclosed, by which you will see that the Neat weight is 3577 pounds. 577 Pounds thereof will be placed to the Credit of your Colony, and the whole settled for in whatever Manner will be most agreeable.

I have just received a Letter from John Huntington Esq,

97. On this day Washington wrote a short note to Maj. Gen. Charles Lee advising him of the nonreceipt of any letter, and that "I need not mention my Impatience to hear from you, and beg that you will write me by every Opportunity." The "Letter Book" copy is in the *Washington Papers*.

with the agreeable account, of his having forwarded two Tons of Powder to this Camp, by your order. Accept Sir, of my thanks for this seasonable supply; when it arrives I shall send you an Account of it, and when you point out the Mode, it shall be paid for or replaced in the Manner you and the rest of your Legislature shall think proper. I have nothing now at present to communicate to you from hence, but you may be assured that, I am etc.

### **To MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER**



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Cambridge, February 25, 1776.

Dear Sir: Notwithstanding I have adopted every Measure which my Judgement directed for procuring Arms in these Governments for the Army under my Command, as well by Applications to the several Assemblies and Conventions, as by sending Officers to the several Towns to purchase; I am under the disagreeable and melancholy Necessity of informing you that there is at this important Crisis, a very great Deficiency, and that there is now a considerable Number of Men at these Encampments without any in their Hands; nor do I know that there is any Prospect or Probability of providing them. Can you, my dear Sir, assist me with any from your Parts? If you can procure or purchase any in the Towns fit for Use, I beg that you will do it and have them forwarded with all possible Expedition to me. I will pay for them immediately on Delivery and the Charges of bringing them.

I am told that a Major Duncan at Schenectady has about 300 Kings Arms. These, or such of them as are good and serviceable, will be of great Use, and I doubt not may be readily procured. If they can, I request that they may, and be forwarded with any others that you may get, with the Price. I would not be thus pressing, and thus importunate were it not for my situation, which is truly alarming and distressing: to be within Musquet Shot of a formidable Army, well provided with every Necessary, without having the Means on my Part of Maintaining even a defensive War.

Relying on your Friendship, and that every Thing in your Power will be done to serve me, I shall only add, that I am, Dear Sir etc.

### **To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

Cambridge, February 26, 1776.

Sir: I had the honor of addressing you on the 18th. and 25th. Instant, by Mr. Hooper, since which nothing material has occurred.

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We are making every necessary preparation for taking possession of Dorchester Heights, as soon as possible, with a view of drawing the Enemy out. How far our expectations may be answered, Time can only determine: But I

should think, If any thing will induce them to hazard an engagement, It will be our attempting to fortify these Heights, as on that Event's taking place, we shall be able to command a great part of the Town and almost the whole Harbour and to make them rather disagreeable than otherwise, provided we can get a sufficient supply of what we greatly want.

Within three or four days, I have received sundry Accounts from Boston of such movements there, such as taking the Mortars from Bunker's Hill, the putting them with several pieces of heavy Ordinance on board of Ships, with a quantity of Bedding: the Ships all taking in Water, the baking a large Quantity of Biscuits &ca, as to indicate an embarkation of the Troops from thence. A Mr. Ides, who came out yesterday, says that the Inhabitants of the Town generally believe that they are about to remove either to New York or Virginia, and that every Vessel in the Harbour on Tuesday last was taken up for Government Service, and two month's pay advanced to them. Whether they really intend to embark, or whether the whole is a feint, is impossible for me to tell: However I have thought it expedient to send an express to General Lee to Inform him of it, in order that he may not be taken by surprize, If their destination should be against New York, and continued him on to you.

If they do embark, I think the possessing themselves of that place and the North River, is the Object they have in view, thereby securing the communication with Canada, and rendering the Intercourse between the northern and Southern United Colonies

exceedingly precarious and difficult. To prevent them from effecting their plan is a Matter of the highest Importance, and will require a large and respectable Army, and the most vigilant and judicious exertions.

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Since I wrote by Mr. Hooper,<sup>1</sup> some small parcels of Powder have arrived from Connecticut, which will give us a little assistance.

On Thursday night, a party of our Men at Roxbury made the Enemy's out Sentries, consisting of a Corporal and two Privates, Prisoners, without firing a Gun or giving the least Alarm.

I shall be as attentive to the Enemies motions as I can, and obtain all the Intelligence in my power, and if I find 'em embark, shall in the most expeditious manner detach a part of the light Troops to New York and repair thither myself, If circumstances shall require It. I shall be better able to Judge what to do, when the Matter happens; at present I can only say, that I will do every thing that shall appear proper and necessary.

Your Letter of the 12th. Instant, by Col. Bull came to hand Yesterday evening, and shall agreeable to your recommendation pay proper Notice to him. The supply of cash came very seasonably, as our Treasure was just exhausted, and nothing can be done here without it. I have the Honor etc.

P.S. This Letter was intended to have been sent by Express but meeting with a private Conveyance the Express was Countermanded.<sup>2</sup>

1. William Hooper, Delegate from North Carolina to the Continental Congress.

2. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. Unsigned.

**To MAJOR GENERAL CHARLES LEE**

Cambridge, February 26, 1776.

Dear Sir: I received your esteem'd Favour of the 14th. Inst., which gave me great Pleasure, being impatient to hear from you. I rejoice to find, that you are getting better, and

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could not avoid laughing at Captain Parker's Reasons for not putting his repeated Threats into Execution.<sup>3</sup>

I take Notice of your intended Dispositions for Defence, which I request you will loose no Time in putting into Execution as, from many corroborating Accounts I have received, the Enemy seem to prepare for their Departure from Boston. They have removed the two Mortars from Bunker's Hill, and carried them, with a great Part of their heavy brass Cannon on Board their Ships. They have taken all the Topsail Vessels in the Harbour, into the Service. They are ready watered, and their Sails bent. All this Shew, may be but a Feint, but if real, and they should come your Way, I wish you may be prepared to receive them. If I find that they are in Earnest and do go off, I will immediately send you a Reinforcement from this Camp, and if necessary, march the main Body to your Assistance, as Circumstances may require. I shall keep a good Watch on their Motions, and give you the speediest Information possible.

Leechmore's Point is now very strong; I am sending some heavy Cannon thither; The Platform for a Mortar is preparing to be placed in the Works there; another at Lambsdam, and we are making the necessary Dispositions to possess ourselves of Dorchester Hill, which must bring them on, if any Thing will. If they do not interrupt us in that Work, I shall be confirmed in my Opinion, that they mean to leave the Town. A little Time must now determine whether they are

3. General Lee had written (February 14): "The Governor, and the Captain of [a] Man of War, had threatened perdition to the Town, if the Cannon was removed from the Batteries and wharfs; but I ever considered their threats as a *Brutum fulmen*, and even perswaded the Town to be of the same way of thanking. We accordingly conveyd them to a place of safety in the middle of the day, and no cannonade ensued. Capt. Parker publishes a pleasant reason for his passive conduct. He says that it was manifestly nay intention, and that of the N. England men under my command, to bring destruction on this Town, so hated for their loyal principles, but that He was determin'd not to indulge us; so remained

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quiet out of spite. The people here laugh at his nonsenses, and begin to despise the menaces, which formerly us'd to throw 'em into convulsions. To do 'em justice, the whole shew a wonderful alacrity; and, in removing the Cannon, Men and Boys of all ages work'd with the greatest zeal and pleasure. I really believe that the generallity are as well affected as any on the Continent." This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

Governor Tryon, however, explained to Lord George Germain (April 6) that on account of the ice Capt. [Hyde] Parker could not bring his ships' guns to bear on the places where the artillery and stores lay and if he opened fire he could only destroy the town. "The destruction, therefore, of the city where there were so many friends to government, with the loss of all their property and the consideration of preserving the town for the king's army, were thought to be too great sacrifices to make for only retarding the removal of the artillery and stores."

resolved to maintain their present Ground, or look out for another Post. I will now return to your Letter.

The Account you give of our New York Brethren is very satisfactory. I should be glad to know how many Men you are likely to have, that you can depend upon remaining with you. I very much fear, that the Sailing of Clinton, will keep back those you expected from Pennsylvania. Let me hear from you upon this and every Thing else that concerns you, as soon and as often as you possibly can.

I shall pay due Attention to your Recommendations of Captain Smith and Captain Badlain.<sup>4</sup>

With Respect to the Canada Expedition, I assure you, that it was not my Intention, to propose your going there; I only meant, what I thought would happen, that the Congress would make you that Proposal. I am now of Opinion, that you will have Work enough upon your Hands where you are; and I make no Doubt but your Presence will be as necessary there, as it would be in Canada.<sup>5</sup> I am glad that Colonel Ritzema<sup>6</sup> is gone to Congress

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and hope they will expedite an Army thither, not only to preserve what we have already got; but also to possess ourselves of Quebec before it can be reinforced from Europe or elsewhere. It is an Object of such vast Importance, that it will be Madness not to strain every Sinew, for effecting that Purpose.

I am in some Pain for our little Fleet, as I am informed that the Asia and Phoenix have sailed in Quest of them. You doubtless had good Reasons for the Appointment you mention to have made;<sup>7</sup> As it is temporary, it can have no bad Effect. I am etc.

4. Probably Capt. Robert Smith, of the New York Militia, and Capt. Ezra Badlain, of the Artillery.

5. By a resolve of Congress (February 17), General Lee was ordered to take command in Canada, and General Schuyler to take his place in New York. But “from an undoubted authority that it [the south] will be a principal scene of action,” this arrangement was changed before it was carried into effect. On February 27 Congress formed what were called the middle and southern military departments, the former consisting of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland, and the latter of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. General Lee was directed (March 1) to take command of the Southern Department, and left New York on the 7th, in compliance with that order. Six brigadiers—John Armstrong, William Thompson, Andrew Lewis, Robert Howe, Lord Stirling, and James Moore—were appointed the same day, of whom four—Armstrong, Lewis, Howe, and Moore—were likewise ordered to that department.— *Ford*.

6. Col. Rudolphus Ritzema, of New York.

7. In General Lee's letter (February 14) he had said: “You must pardon me for a liberty I have taken. You know that [Isaac] Sears was to collect our volunteers in Connecticut, but he thought he could not succeed, unless he had some nominal office and rank. I accordingly most impudently, by virtue of the power deputed by you to me (which power you never deputed), appointed him adjutant general, with the rank of lieutenant colonel,

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for the expedition. It can have no bad consequences. The man was much tickled, and it added spurs to his hat. He is a creature of much spirit and public virtue, and ought to have his back clapped."

### **To THE MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE**

Cambridge, February 26, 1776.

Genl: As I am making all possible preparation to take possession of the Heights of Dorchester (which I expect I shall be able to accomplish by the latter end of this Week). It is expected that this, if any thing can, will bring the Enemy out of Boston to oppose, as at Charlestown, our Erecting any Works there.—To weaken our Lines on the North side of Cambridge River, to strengthen those of Dorchester, before any movement is made that way by the Enemy, may neither be consistent with prudence or good policy, and to delay it till after an Attack is begun would be too late, as the Contest will soon be decided for or against us after this happens.

Under this state of the Matter and to avoid putting an affair of so much Importance to a doubtful Issue, when under Providence, it may be reduced to a certainty; I submit it to the Wisdom of your Board; whether it might not be best to direct the Militia of certain Towns most contiguous to Dorchester and Roxbury, to repair to the Lines at those places with their Arms, Ammunition and Accoutrements instantly upon a Signal given.

If you approve of this, you will please to fix with General Thomas (who waits on you for that purpose) upon the Signal to be given and Issue your Notices Accordingly. I have the honor etc.

### **To MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER**

Cambridge, February 27, 1776.

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Dear Sir: Last Night I received your Favour of the 14th. Inst. by Mr. Bennett, including a general Return of the Artillery and military Stores in our Possession in Canada.

It gives me great Pleasure to hear you are improving in your Health; Before long, I most sincerely hope, you will be so recovered as to be able to go to the Army in Canada, where I am convinced you are much wanted, and would be of the highest Service at this important Crisis. I doubt not of there being a good Deal of Disorder and Confusion in that Quarter which, I flatter myself, would in a great Measure subside and be composed by your Presence. It is natural enough that Mr. Walker's<sup>11</sup> Resentment should be up for the Wrongs he has suffered. It is incident to Humanity; but yet the Passions of Individuals ought never to prevail so far as to injure the State.

I am sorry to find that the Quantity of Artillery and military Stores is so small and inconsiderable as appears by the Return. I had hoped that you were better provided with the former and also with much more Ammunition that you have; particularly Powder, and that the Distresses no where else were equal to mine, for Want of this capital Necessary. Would Fortune but give you Possession of Quebec, there would our Wants be mostly supplied. May she smile

11. Thomas Walker. He had lent General Wooster money for the use of the army in Canada.

propitious, and your virtuous Struggles be crowned with Success. The Reduction of this Fortress would be attended with Consequences of the most happy and salutary Nature to our great Cause: and as General Arnold with a handful of Men has been able to maintain the Blockade I look forward with a pleasing Confidence, to the Day when you, being properly reinforced, will oblige it to surrender.

We have just compleated a large and strong Work on Leechmores Point, opposite to New Boston, and are about to take Post on the Heights of Dorchester, with a View of drawing



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the Enemy out. These Heights will command a large Part of the Town, and almost the whole Harbour, and give us an Opportunity of distressing the Enemy whenever we may be properly provided with Necessaries for carrying on a Cannonade and Bombardment. If any Thing will induce General Howe to risque an Engagement, it will be this. I am determined to do every Thing in my Power to bring on one, and that as soon as possible. How far my Views may be answered, Time must determine.

When I sent Colonel Knox in Pursuit of Artillery I did not design that you should have been disfurnished. I only meant that he should have brought from Canada, such Ordinance as you could conveniently spare; but, from your Letter and the Return, I am led to think that you are in Want.

I have been informed, that General Lee hath lately secured a large Number of heavy Cannon and Shot that were at New York; from whence, I

imagine, you may get a Supply of what you want, which you cannot be supplied with elsewhere.

If you will acquaint me, I will most readily give you every Assistance in my Power, and deem myself happy if I can contribute to releive your Necessities in any Manner. I am,  
Dear Sir, etc.

### **To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

Cambridge, March 7, 1776.

Sir: On the 26th Ultio, I had the Honor of addressing you, and then mentioned, that we were making preparations for taking possession of Dorchester Heights. I now beg leave to Inform you, that a Council of General Officers having determined a previous Bombardment and Cannonade expedient and proper, in order to harrass the Enemy and divert their attention from that Quarter, on Saturday, Sunday and Monday nights last, we carried them

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on from our posts at Cobble Hill, Leechmore's point and Lam's Dam.<sup>17</sup> Whether they did the Enemy any considerable and what Injury, I have not yet heard, but have the pleasure to acquaint you, that they greatly facilitated our schemes, and would have been attended with success equal to our most sanguine expectations, had it not been for the unlucky bursting of two thirteen and Three Ten Inch Mortars, among which was the Brass one, taken in the ordinance Brig. To what cause to attribute this Misfortune I know not, whether to any defect in them, or to the inexperience of the Bombardiers. But to return, on Monday Evening as soon as our firing commenced, a considerable detachment of our men, under the command of Brigadier General Thomas, crossed the Neck and took possession of the two Hills, without the least Interruption or annoyance from the Enemy, and by their great Activity and Industry before the morning advanced the Works so far, as to be secure against

17. Ford quotes from *Centennial Evacuation*, p. 12: "On the 23 Aug. 1775, the work of fortifying Lamb's Dam was begun, and upon the completion of that work, the line of fortification was advanced to a point a little south of the present Northampton Street. Lamb's Dam extended from about the junction of Hampden and Albany Sts. to a point near the present Walnut place. It was originally built to keep the tide from overflowing the marshes, and followed very nearly the present line of Northampton Street, diverging slightly to the southward as it neared the highway. At the termination of the Dam, on the upland, a strong breastwork was constructed, and from that the intrenchments extended across the highway. The works were completed Sept. 10, 1775."

their Shot. They are now going on with such expedition that in a little time I hope they will be complete, and enable our Troops stationed there, to make a vigorous and obstinate stand. during the whole Canonade, which was incessant the two last Nights we were fortunate enough to lose but two Men, one a Lieutenant by a cannon Ball's taking off his Thigh, the other a private by the explosion of a Shell which also slightly wounded four or five more.

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Our taking possession of Dorchester Heights is only preparatory to taking post on Nuke Hill and the points opposite the south end of Boston. It was absolutely necessary that they should be previously fortified, in order to cover and command them. As soon as the works on the former are finished and complete, measures will be immediately adopted for securing the latter and making them as strong and defensible as we can. Their contiguity to the Enemy, will make them of much Importance and of great service to us.

As mortars are essential and indispensibly necessary for carrying on our Operations and the prosecution of our plans, I have applied to two Furnaces to have some thirteen Inch ones cast with all expedition imaginable, and am encouraged to hope from the accounts I have had, that they will be able to do it;

when they are done, and a proper supply of Powder obtained, I flatter myself from the posts we have just taken, and are about to take, that it will be in our power to force the Ministerial Troops to an attack, or to dispose of 'em in some way that will be of advantage to us. I think from these posts, they will be so galled and annoyed, that they must either give us battle, or quit their present possessions. I am resolved that nothing on my part shall be wanting to effect the one or the other.

It having been the general Opinion, that the Enemy would attempt to dislodge our People from the Hills, and force their Works, as soon as they were discovered, which probably might have brought on a general Engagement, It was thought advisable that the Honorable Council<sup>18</sup> should be applied to, to order in the Militia from the neighbouring and adjacent Towns, I wrote them on the Subject, which they most readily complied with; and in justice to the Militia, I cannot but inform you, that they came in at the appointed time, and manifested the greatest alertness and determined resolution to have acted like men engaged in the cause of Freedom.

When the Enemy first discovered our works in the morning, they seemed to be in great confusion, and from their movements to have intended an attack.

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It is much to be wished, that it had been made. The event I think must have been fortunate, and nothing less than success and victory on our side, as our Officers and men appeared Impatient

18. The council of the Massachusetts Legislature.

for the appeal, and to have possessed the most animated Sentiments and determined Spirit.

On Tuesday evening a considerable number of their Troops embarked on board their Transports and fell down to the Castle, where part of them landed before dark; one or two of the Vessels got a ground and were fired at by our People with a Field piece, but without any Damage. What was the design of this embarkation and landing, I have not been able to learn; It would seem as if they meant an attack, for it is most probable, that if they make one on our Works at Dorchester at this time, that they will first go to the Castle and come from thence. If such was their design, a violent storm that night and which lasted 'till Eight O'Clock the next day, rendered the execution of it impracticable. It carried one or two of their Vessels a shore, which have since got off.<sup>19</sup>

In case the Ministerial Troops had made an Attempt to dislodge our Men from Dorchester Hills, and the number detached upon the occasion, had been so great as to have afforded a probability of a successful attack's being made upon Boston, on a signal given from Roxbury for that purpose, agreeable to a settled and concerted plan; Four thousand chosen men who were held in readiness, were to ford have embarked at the mouth of Cambridge River in two divisions; The first under the command of Brig. Genl. Sullivan, the second under Brig. Genl. Greene, the whole to have been commanded by Major General Putnam. The

19. Ford quotes Sir William Howe's account of the evacuation, in a letter to the Earl of Dartmouth (March 21): "On the 2d inst. at night they began a cannonade upon the town;

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the same was repeated on the evening of the 3d and 4th. On the 5th in the morning it was discovered that the enemy had thrown up three very extensive works with strong abatties on the commanding hills on Dorchester Neck, which must have been the employment of at least 12,000 men. In a situation so critical I determined upon immediate attack; the ardour of the troops encouraged me in this hazardous enterprise, and regiments were expeditiously embarked on board transports to fall down the harbour; but the wind unfortunately coming contrary and blowing very hard the ships were not able to get to their destination....The weather continuing boisterous the next day and night gave the enemy time to improve their works, to bring up their cannon, and to put themselves into such a state of defense that I could promise myself little success by attacking them under such disadvantages; wherefore I judged it most advisable to prepare for the evacuation of the town....This operation was effected on the 17th, and all the rear guard embarked at 9 o'clock in the morning, without the least loss, irregularity or accident."

first division was to land at the Powder House and gain possession of Bacon Hill and Mount Horam. The second at Barton's Point or a little South of it, and after securing that post, to join the other division and force the Enemy's Works and Gates for letting in the Roxbury Troops. Three floating batteries were to have proceeded and gone in Front of the other Boats, and kept up a heavy fire on that part of the Town where our men where to land. How far our views would have succeeded, had an Opportunity offered for attempting the Execution, is impossible for me to say. Nothing but experiment could determine with precision. The Plan was thought to be well digested and as far as I could judge from the cheerfulness and alacrity which distinguished the Officers and men who were to engage in the enterprize, I had reason to hope for a favourable and happy Issue.

The Militia which were ordered in, from the Adjacent Towns, brought with them three days Provisions. They were only called upon to Act under the Idea of an Attack's being immediately made, and were all discharged this Afternoon.

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I beg leave to remind Congress that three Major Generals are essential and necessary for this Army, and that by General Lee's being called from hence to the command in Canada, the left Division is without one. I hope they will fill up the Vacancy by the Appointment of another. General Thomas is the first Brigadier, stands fair in point of Reputation and is esteemed a brave and good Officer. If he is promoted, there will be a vacancy in the Brigadier Generals, which it will be necessary to supply by the appointment of some other Gentleman, that shall be agreeable to Congress. But justice requires me to mention that William Thompson Esquire

of the Rifle Regiment is the first Colonel of this department, and as far as I have had an Opportunity of Judging, is a good Officer and a man of Courage. What I have said of these two Gentlemen, I conceive to be my duty, at the same time acknowledging whatever promotions are made will be satisfactory to me.

March 9th. Yesterday evening a Captain Irvine, who escaped from Boston the night before, with Six of his crew, came to Head Quarters and gave the following Intelligence "That our Bombardment and Cannonade caused much surprize in Town, as many of the Soldiery said they never heard or thought we had Mortars or Shells"

"That several of the Officers acknowledged they were well and properly directed. That they occasioned much distress and confusion; that the Cannon Shot, for the greatest part went thro' the Houses and he was told, that one took of the Legs and Arms of 6 men lying in the Barracks on the Neck; That a Soldier who came from the Lines there on Tuesday Morning Informed him, that: 20 men had been wounded the night before; It was also reported that others had been hurt, and one of the Light Horse torn to pieces by the explosion of a Shell, this was afterwards contradicted; That early on Tuesday Morning—Admiral Shuldham discovering the Works our People were throwing up on Dorchester Heights, immediately sent an Express to General Howe to inform him, that it was necessary that they should be attacked and dislodged from thence, or he would be under the necessity of withdrawing the Ships from the Harbour under his command; That preparations were directly made for

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that purpose as it was said, and from twelve to two O'Clock, about 3000 men embarked on board the Transports which fell down to the Castle, with a design of Landing on that part of Dorchester next to it, and attacking the Works at 5 O'Clock next morning; That Lord Piercy was appointed to command, and that it was generally believed the attempt would have been made, had it not been for the Violent Storm which happened that night, as I have mentioned before; That he heard several of the privates and one or two Serjeants say, as they were embarking that it would be another Bunker Hill affair. He further Informs that the Army is preparing to leave Boston, and that they will do it in a day or two; That Transports necessary for their embarkation were getting ready with the utmost expedition; That there had been great movements and confusion amongst the Troops the night and day preceeding his coming out, in hurrying down their Cannon, Artillery and other Stores to the Wharfs with the utmost precipitation, and were putting them on board the Ships in such haste that no account or memorandum was taken of them; That more of their cannon were removed from their works and embarked and embarking. That he heard a Woman say, which he took to be an Officer's wife, that she had seen Men go under ground at their Lines on the neck without returning; That the Ship he commanded was taken up, places fitted and fitting for Officers to lodge and several Shot, Shells and Cannon already on board. That the Tories were to have the Liberty of going where they pleased, If they could get Seamen to man the Vessels, of which there was great scarcity. On that account many Vessels could not be carried away, and would be burnt. That many of the Inhabitants apprehended the Town would be destroyed, and that their destination is Halifax.

The Account given by Capt. Irvine as to the embarkation and their being about to leave the Town I believe true, there are other corroborating circumstances and it seems fully confirmed by a paper,—signed by four of of the Select Men of the Town, (a Copy of which I have the honor to enclose you) which was brought out Yesterday evening by a Flag and delivered Colonel Learned by Major Bassett of the 10th Regiment, who desired it might be given me as soon as possible: I advised with such of the General Officers upon the Occasion as I could immediately Assemble and we determined it right, as it was not

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addressed to me, or any one else, nor authenticated by the signature of General Howe or any other Act Obliging him to a performance of the promise mentioned on his part, that I should give it no Answer, at the same time, that a Letter should be returned as going from Col. Learned signifying his having laid it before me with the reasons assigned for not answering it.—A Copy of this is also sent you.<sup>20</sup>

To night I shall have a Battery thrown up on Nuke Hill (Dorchester point) with a design of acting as circumstances may require. It being judged adviseable to prosecute our plans of Fortification, as we intended before this Information from the Select Men came.

It being agreed on all hands that there is no probability of stopping them, if they determine to go, I shall order look outs to be kept upon all the Headlands, to discover their Movements and course, and moreover direct Commodore Manly and his little Squadron to dog them, as well for the same purpose, as for picking up any of their Vessels that may chance to depart their Convoy; from their loading with such precipitancy, It's presumable they'll not be in the best condition for Sea.

If the Ministerial Troops evacuate the Town and leave it standing, I have thoughts of taking measures for fortifying the entrance into the harbour, If it shall be thought proper and the situation of Affairs will admit of it.

Notwithstanding the report from Boston that Hallifax is the place of their Destination, I have no doubt but that they are going to the Southward of this, and I apprehend to New York. Many reasons lead me to this Opinion,<sup>21</sup> It is in some measure corroborated by their sending an express Ship there which on Wednesday Week got on shore and bilged at Cape Cod. The Dispatches if written were destroyed when she was boarded; she had a parcel of Coal and about 4000 Cannon Shot, six Carriage Guns, 1 or 2 Swevils and three Barrels of Powder. I shall hold the Riflemen and other parts of our Troops in readiness to march at a Moments warning and Govern my movements by the events that happen, or



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such Orders as I may receive from Congress, which I beg may be ample and forwarded with all possible expedition.

On the 6th. Instant a Ship bound from London with Stores for the Ministerial Army, consisting of coal, porter and Krout, fell in with our Armed Vessels, four of them in Company and was carried into Portsmouth. She had a long passage and of course brought no papers of a late date. The only Letters of Importance or the least interesting that were found I have enclosed.

I beg leave to mention to Congress that Money is much wanted. The Militia from these Governments engaged 'till the 1st of April are then to be paid, and if we march from hence, the Expence will be considerable must be defrayed and cannot be accomplished without it. the necessity of making the earliest remittance for these purposes is too obvious for me to add more.

When I wrote that part of this Letter which is antecendent to this date, I fully expected It would have gone before now by Col. Bull; not deeming it of sufficient importance to send a special Messenger, but he deferred his return from time to time and never set off 'till to day.

These reasons I hope will excuse the delay and be received as a proper apology for not transmitting it sooner. I have the honor etc.<sup>22</sup>

### **To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Head Quarters, Cambridge, March 9, 1776.

Sir: The important Post of Dorchester Hill, which has long been the object of our particular attention, and which for various weighty reasons I had hitherto delayed taking possession of, I have the pleasure to inform you is now so well secured, that I flatter myself it will not be in the power of the Enemy to disposess us. A detachment of twenty-five hundred Men,

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under Command of Brigr General Thomas on Monday Evening last, begun the Works there, which they have carried on ever since without the least molestation from the Enemy. For two or three nights previous to this, I thought it necessary to draw off their Attention from the grand object, and accordingly ordered a brisk Cannonade and bombardment of the Town, which (as I have been since informed) had the desired Effect for they had no suspicion of our real design, 'till Tuesday Morning, when they discovered our Troops in possession of the Hill. A Captain of a Transport, who made his escape from Boston the Night before last, informs me that three thousand Men under Command of Lord Piercy, were ordered to disposess us, but the Weather being very tempestuous (or perhaps for some better reason) the expedition was laid aside; He also informs me that they were making every preparation to evacuate the Town. They have indeed been observed for several days past, to be very busily employed in removing their Cannon and Ammunition, and yesterday in the Afternoon the Captain's intelligence was confirmed by a Flagg of Truce sent out,

20. "Boston, 8 March, 1776.

"As his Excellency General Howe is determined to leave the Town with the Troops Under his Command, a Number of the Respectable Inhabitants, being very Anxious for its preservation and safety, have applied to General Robertson for this purpose, who at their request has communicated the same to his Excellency Genl. Howe, who has assured him, that he has no intention of destroying the Town, unless the Troops under his command are molested during their Embarkation or at their departure, by the Armed force without, which declaration he gave Genl. Robertson leave to communicate to the Inhabitants; If such an Opposition should take place, we have the greatest reason to expect the Town will be exposed to Intire destruction. As our fears are quieted with regard to Genl. Howe's Intentions, we beg we may have some assurances that so dreadful a Calamity may not be brought on by any measures without. As a Testimony of the truth of the Above, we have signed our Names to this paper, carried out by Messrs. Thomas and Jonathan Amory

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and Peter Johonnot, who have at the earnest Intreaties of the Inhabitants, through the Lt. Governor, Solicited a flag of Truce for this purpose,

“John Scollay, Timothy Newell, Thomas Marshall, Samuel Austin.”

The original is in the *Washington Papers*. It was drawn up by Newell, taken to the lines at Roxbury, and given to Colonel Learned, who carried it to headquarters. He returned, and handed the bearers of it the following letter:

“Roxbury, 9 March, 1776.

“Sir: Agreeably to a promise made to you at the Lines yesterday, I waited upon His Excellency General Washington, and presented to Him the Paper (handed to me by you) from the Select Men of Boston. The Answer I received from Him was to this effect: ‘That, as it was an unauthenticated Paper; without an Address, and not Obligatory Upon General Howe; He would take no Notice of it.’ I am, with esteem and respect, Gentlemen, your most obedt. Servt, “Ebenezer Learned.”

“To Messrs. Amorys and Johonnot.”

A copy of this letter, in the writing of Horatio Gates, is in the *Washington Papers*.

Washington had no wish to injure the town unnecessarily, and despite his uncompromising reply the British were permitted to withdraw without molestation.

21. This was the first, but by no means the last, of the many occasions during the war when the British puzzled Washington by their illogical and unreasonable movements.

22. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

with a Message from the Selectmen of the Town; a Copy of which I have the honor to inclose you. It seems very evident that they can no longer keep possession of the Town,

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and are determined to take post, or attack in some other Quarter; where that may be is at present altogether uncertain, but I thought it my duty to give you the earliest information of this important movement, that you might take proper measures for the Security of your Colony. I have ordered their motions to be very narrowly watched, and if any thing material should occur you may rely on my giving you speedy Notice.

I have also the pleasure to acquaint you that Capt Manly and others, have taken another Transport Ship laden with Coals, Porter &c. for the use of the Ministerial Troops at Boston, She brings papers to the 2d December, but they afford no material News.

An Armed Transport is also stranded on the back of Cape Codd; The most of her cargo consisting principally of a few military stores, has been secured by the Inhabitants the Master, two Midshipmen, and a number of Seaman made prisoners. She was bound from Boston to New York. I have the Honor to be with great respect, Sir, etc.<sup>29</sup>

29. Letters of the same import were sent to Governor Cooke and the New Hampshire Legislature.

### **To JOHN ADAMS**

Cambridge, January 7, 1776.

Sir: You will excuse me for reminding you of our conversation the other Evening, when I inform'd you that General Lee's departure for New York is advisable upon the Plan of his Letter, and under the circumstances I then mentioned, ought not to be delayed. In giving me your opinion of this matter I have no doubt of your taking a comprehensive view of it. That is, you will not only consider the propriety of the measure, but of the execution. Whether such a step, tho' right in itself may not be looked upon as beyond my Line &ca. &ca.

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If it could be made convenient and agreeable to you to take Pott Luck with me to day. I shall be very glad of your Company and we can then talk the matter over

at large. Please to forward General Lee's Letter to me. I am &ca.

### **To THE OFFICER COMMANDING AT NEW YORK<sup>37</sup>**

Head Quarters, Cambridge, March 14, 1776.

Sir: I have stronger Reasons since I wrote to you last, to confirm me in my Opinion that the Army under General Howe is on it's Departure. All their Movements pronounce it, but least it may be but a Feint, I must continue on my Guard, and not weaken my Lines too much, until I have a Certainty of their Departure. It is given out that they are bound to Hallifax; but I am of Opinion that New York is their Place of Destination. It is the Object worthy their Attention; and it is the Place that we must use every Endeavour to keep from them. For should they get that Town, and the Command of the North River, they can stop the Intercourse between the northern and southern Colonies, upon which depends the Safety of America. My Feelings upon this Subject are so strong, that I would not wish to give the Enemy a Chance of succeeding at your Place. I shall, therefore, dispatch a Regiment and some independant Companies of Rifle Men this Day, and To-Morrow, or as soon as it conveniently can be done, five more Regiments will set out from this Camp. I cannot part with more, while the Enemy remain in Sight; but I have wrote to Governor Trumbull to send you 2000 Men, as soon as he possibly can. If you can get 1000 from New Jersey,

37. Brig. Gen. William Alexander (Lord Stirling) was in command at New York at this date, Maj. Gen. Charles Lee having left to take command of the Southern Department on March 7.

with the Militia of the Country called in, if not repugnant to the Will of Congress, I think you can make a sufficient Stand, untill I can with the main Body of this Army join you; which

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you depend upon will be as soon as possible after I can with any Degree of Certainty, tell their Rout.

The Plan of Defence, formed by General Lee, is, from what little I know of the Place, a very judicious one. I hope, nay I dare say, it is carrying into Execution, with Spirit and Industry. You may judge from the Enemys keeping so long Possession of the Town of Boston against an Army superior in Numbers and animated with the noble Spirit of Liberty: I say, you may judge by that how much easier it is, to keep an Enemy from forming a Lodgement in a Place, than it will be to dispossess them when they get themselves fortified. As I have in my last told you, that the Fate of this Campaign, of Course, the Fate of America, depends upon you and the Army under your Command, should the Enemy attempt your Quarter; I will dwell no more thereon, though the last Importance of the Subject, would make an Apology for Repetition, needless. I am, Sir, etc.

### **To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

Cambridge, March 13, 1776.

Sir: In my letter of the 7th. and 9th. Instant, which I had the honor of Addressing you, I mentioned the Intelligence I had received respecting the embarkation of the Troops from Boston and fully expected before this, that the Town would have been entirely evacuated. Altho' I have been deceived and was rather premature in the Opinion I had then formed I have little reason to doubt but the event will take place in a very short time, as other Accounts which have come to hand since, the sailing of a great number of Transports from the Harbour to Nantasket Road and many circumstances corresponding therewith seem to confirm & render it unquestionable.

Whether the Town will be destroyed is a matter of much uncertainty, but it would seem from the destruction they are making of sundry pieces of furniture, of many of their

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Waggon, Carts &c. which they cannot take with 'em, as it is said, that it will not; For if they intended it, the whole might be involved in one general ruin.

Holding it of the last importance in the present contest, that we should secure New York and prevent the Enemy from possessing it, and conjecturing they have views of that sort and their embarkation to be for that purpose, I judged it necessary under the situation of things here, to call a Council of General Officers to consult of such measures as are expedient to be taken at this interesting conjuncture of Affairs. A copy of the proceedings I have the honor to inclose you.<sup>33</sup>

Agreeable to the Opinion of the Council, I shall detach the Rifle Regiment to morrow under the Command of Brigadier General Sullivan with orders to repair to New York, with all possible expedition, which will be succeeded the day after by the other five in one Brigade, they being all that it was thought advisable to send from hence until the Enemy shall have quitted the Town.

33. The proceedings of this council are in the *Washington Papers*.

Immediately upon their departure, I shall send forward Major General Putnam and will follow myself with the remainder of the Army as soon as I have it in my power; leaving here only such a number of men as circumstances may seem to require.

As the badness of the roads at this Season will greatly retard the March of our men, I have by advice of the General Officers wrote to Governor Trumbull by this express to use his utmost exertions for throwing a reinforcement of two Thousand Men into New York from the Western parts of Connecticut, and to the Commanding Officer there, to apply to the Provincial Convention or Committee of Safety of New Jersey, for a thousand more, for the same purpose, to oppose the Enemy and prevent their getting possession, in case they arrive before our Troops get there, of which there's a probability unless they are impeded by Contrary Winds. This Measure, tho it will be attended with considerable expence, I flatter myself will meet the Approbation of Congress. The Lines in Boston and on Boston

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Neck point out the propriety and suggest the necessity of keeping them from gaining possession and making a Lodgement. Should their destination be further southward or for Halifax for the purpose of going into Canada, the March of our Troops to New York, will place them nearer the scene of Action and more convenient for affording succours.

We have not taken post on Nuke [Nook's] Hill and fortified it, as mentioned we should in my last. On hearing that the Enemy were about to retreat and leave the Town, It was thought imprudent and unadvisable to force them with too much precipitation, that we might gain a little time and prepare for a March. To morrow Evening we shall take possession of it unless they are gone.

As New York is of such importance; prudence and policy require, that every precaution that can be devised, should be adopted to frustrate the designs which the Enemy may have of obtaining possession of it. To this End I have ordered Vessels to be provided and held ready at Norwich for the embarkation and Transportation of our Troops thither. This I have done with a view not only of expediting their arrival, as it will save several days marching but also that they may be fresh and fit for intrenching and throwing up Works of defence, as soon as they got there, If they do meet the Enemy to contend with, for neither of which would they be in a proper condition after a long and fatiguing March in bad roads. If Wallace with his Ships should be apprized of the measure and attempt to prevent it by stopping up the Harbour at New London, they can but pursue their March by Land.

You will be pleased to observe, that it is the Opinion of the General Officers, If the Enemy abandon the Town, that it will be unnecessary to employ or keep any of this Army for its defence, and that I have mentioned on, that event's happening, I shall immediately repair to New York with the remainder of the Army not now detached, leaving only such a Number of Men here as circumstances may seem to require. What I partly allude to is, that as it will take a considerable time for the removal of such a large body of men, as the Divisions must precede each other in such order as to allow intermediate time sufficient for 'era to be covered and provided for on the route, and many things done previous to the



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march of the whole for securing and forwarding such necessaries, as can not be carried Immediately, (if proper to be carried at all) That some directions might be received from Congress, as to the number which they may judge necessary to be kept here for these or any other purposes. I could wish to have their commands upon the Subject and in time, as I may be under some degree of embarrassment as to their views.

Congress having been pleased to appoint Col. Thompson a Brigadier General, there is a Vacancy for a Colonel in the Regiment he commanded, to which I would beg leave to recommend the Lieut. Col. Hand?<sup>34</sup> I shall also take the Liberty of recommending Captain Hugh Stevenson of the Virginia Riflemen to succeed Col. Hand & to be appointed in his place as Lieut. Col. (there being no Major, Magaw<sup>35</sup> the late one being appointed Lt. Col. of one of the Pennsylvania Battalions and gone from hence) He is in my Opinion the fittest person in this Army for it, as well as the oldest Captain in the service, having distinguished himself at the Head of a Rifle Company all the last War and highly merited the approbation of his superior officers.

Col. Mifflin Informed me to day, of his having received Tent Cloths from Mr. Barrett of Philadelphia to the amount of 7,500 £ of Pennsylvania Currency and applied for a Warrant for Payment of it. But our Fund being low & many demands against it, which must be satisfied and our calls for Money will be exceedingly great, I could not grant it, thinking it might be convenient for payment to be made in Philadelphia by your order, on the Treasury there.<sup>36</sup> I have the Honor &ca.

34. Lieut. Col. Edward Hand.

35. Robert Magaw, of Thompson's rifle regiment.

36. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.